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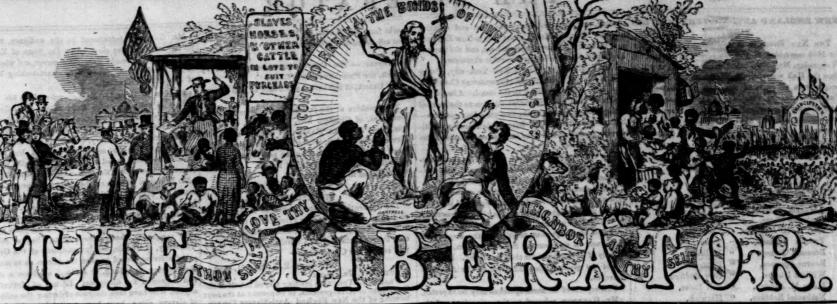
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The following gentlemen constitute the Finanial Committee, but are not responsible for any of the lebts of the paper, viz :- Francis Jackson, En-SUND QUINCE, EDMUND JACKSON, and WENDELL

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

The United States Constitution is 'a covenant with

death, and an agreement with hell."

The free States are the guardians and essential supports of slavery. We are the failers and con-

stables of the institution. . . . There is some excuse

for communities, when, under a generous impulse, they espouse the cause of the oppressed in other States, and by force restore their rights; but they are without

excuse in aiding other States in binding on men an

unrightoons yake. On this subject, own PATHERS, IN PRAMINU THE CONSTITUTION, SWENVED FROM THE MIGHT. We their children, at the end of half a cen-

tury, see the path of duty more clearly than they, and must walk in it. To this point the public mind

has long been tending, and the time has come for look-

ing at it fully, dispassionately, and with manly and Christian resolution. . . . No blessing of the Union can be a compensation for taking part in the enslaving of our fellow-creatures; nor ought this bond to be

perpetuated, if experience shall demonstrate that it

can only continue through our participation in wrong doing. To this conviction the free States are tending.

VOL. XXX. NO. 23.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, JUNE 8, 1860.

WHOLE NUMBER, 1537.

- WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.

THE LIBERATOR.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, Wednesday, May 30th, 1860.

ographic report for THE LIBERATOR by J. M. W. YERRINTON. MR. CHAIRMAN-The resolution to which I will

endeavor to say a few words, I suppose has been read, but I will read it again :-

Resolved, That with the slave trade freshly revived among us, with the connivance of the government, and in defiance of the law, with the great seets and and in utual parties repudiating the anti-slavery move-political parties repudiating the anti-slavery move-ment, we feel the need of all the more earnestness and of the most radical utterances, in our protests against slavery as a foul sin, and a system of abominations, distely abolished, and against a Church and State, the synagogues of Saten and covenants with death, to be annulled and dissolved.'

We are here to-day Abolitionists-our great purpose, to seek the abolition of American Slavery. Vith the exception of the Church Anti-Slavery Society, which met on Tuesday, I know of no body, least in New England, if anywhere in the whole Empire, that seeks the abolition of American slavery. We have neither a church nor a party that seeks the abolition of American slavery. The estion is neither in religion nor in politics-anywhere. Let me say a word upon that last point.

The question is not in politics, anywhere. There is a Republican party which undertakes to protect, to a certain extent, the rights of white men, in certain ocalities; but that party distinctly repudiates all connection with the question of the abolition of slavery, either gradually or immediately. It is not in their platform; it is not in the speeches of their leading men. More than that: you never find their leading men on the platform of any anti-slavery society. There is, therefore, no manifestation in the political world, of any intent or purpose to attack the system of slavery. Certainly there is none in the religious. We, therefore, and one or two additional societies, are the only bodies that undertake to deal with the quesion of American slavery. If you take the platform of the Chicago Convention, with the change of a few words in regard to the territorial question, they might just as well have nominated Douglas as anybody else, because there is nothing in his life nor in his speeches which runs counter to that Declaration of Principles at Chicago. The only approach, therefore, to a political anti-slavery movement is one so closely identified with the old parties, and with the Democratic party especially, that there is no distinguishing element in it. Certainly, its head and all its leaders repudiate all connection with the antislavery movement, as such. I am the more anxious that this should be under-

stood, because some persons suppose that there are different phases of the anti-slavery movement; that there are certain churches doing something, certain oliticians doing something. Now, of course, any man who undertakes to be a free man, to express his ewn sentiments, to go forth with a newspaper in his pocket, is, to a certain extent, attacking slavery-because slavery and freedom are so, not only antagonistic, but inconsistent, that the one cannot exist in the fully-developed presence of the other; but what I say is, that no body of men announces to the public any intention of attacking American slavery but ourselves. We are in the thirtieth year of our existence; we have labored with all the means at our control; and, in the thirty years of our existence, the Slave Power has had, and continues to have, such omnipotent hold on the sources of American character and policy, that there is no man, nor any body of men, bold enough to stand up in the face of the American States, and express his purpose to seek the abolition of slavery. It is a remarkable fact, and well worth noting. It is of great significance. It justifies the policy which we arge upon the nation, of radical, aggressive, unflinching attack on all the great sources of character-literature, theology, politics, the car of slavery, that thirty years of agitation have not yet made one politician brave enough to put it on his banner that he intends the abolition of American slavery. Here is Mr. Lincoln, proclaimed to be, in the Courier, the man who, according to the best informed political authority, is the only man capable of uniting the anti-slavery sentiment of the Northern States. He is the tide-mark that shows how high what may be called the Northern sentiment (for you cannot call it the anti-slavery sentiment) has risen within thirty years. Mark you! he says in this document, (speech of Mr. Lincoln,) in regard to such a point, for instance, as the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, that he has never studied the subject; that he has no distinctive ideas about it. That is the measure of his anti-slavery. Slavery on the very site of the Capitol, under the executive authority of the National Government-the simplest form of despotism—the simplest element of the question whether the Union can make a slave-and he has no distinctive ideas about it-he never thought it worth while to consider it much; but so far as he has considered it, he should be, perhaps, in favor of gradual on, when the slaveholders of the District asked for it! (Derisive laughter.) Of course he would. I doubt if there is a man throughout the whole South who would not go as far as that. When South Carolina wants to free her slaves, he is ready to grant that she may. (Renewed laughter.) That is the amount is anti-slavery in the very focus of the Union, where the problem is discharged of all ingredients, except the simple question whether the United States shall hold slaves.

Then he goes into another question-that of the inter-State slave trade, which the South herself has, on frequent occasions, taken the opportunity to proagainst. In regard to that, he is not at all in favor of stopping it; and in regard to the Fugitive Slave bill, he has no objections to it, and he would have objections to introducing the question of repealing it, as an element of agitation. ('Hear, hear.') That is the amount of anti-slavery, if you choose to call it such, which, according to the Chicago thermeter, the Northern States are capable of bearing. The ice is so thin that Mr. Lincoln, standing six feet and four inches, cannot afford to carry any principles with him on to it! (Laughter.)

one of them here? Have they ever avowed their the Palmetto State. On every principle of justice purpose to seek, as a distinctive end, the abolition and Republican law, that is their right. When I of slavery in the Southern States? See how the speak of the rights of the blacks, I begin by recogman whom the Tribine defends, and who is con- nizing their right-exactly as I do that of Italy-the sidered just now the standard-bearer of the political moment they can get their feet and their hands free, sentiment—see how he describes such a meeting as to use their hands in strangling every white man this. Mr. Douglas had charged him with saying that South of Mason and Dixon's line. I know you look he meant to go to the banks of the Ohio, and throw upon this as fanatical, but it is the corner-stone of stones into Kentucky, and disturb their domestic in- everything like a vital anti-slavery movement, to look stitutions. Of course, that means that he meant to at the black man, not as a single pitiable victim, but hold anti-slavery meetings in Ohio, and criticise the as a great race, engaged in conflict with the white institutions of Kentucky; hold them up as sinful, race-act obliged to wait until some considerate roband claim of the Ohio people that they should give ber new-models his statute-book, until some county them no encouragement, and when they saw a slave, court lawyer of Illinois gets time to consider the quesfree him. That is what was meant by the figure. tion whether slavery in the District of Columbia is a Now, Mr. Lincoln says- I don't understand that the sin or not. The slave has the right, and our duty is framers of the Constitution left the people of the free to let the country know, as a matter of ethics, to in-States in the attitude of firing bombs and shells into troduce it as an element of American thought, that the slave States'; -- and he adds, there is no charita- he has the right to free himself, the moment he gets ble way of judging the man who made such an accu- the power. What freed Italy? What put Victor sation against him, except by supposing that he is Emanuel on the throne of half Italy to-day, and sent crazy; and thus, that when Stephen A. Douglas Gariballi to Italy? The fact that Mazzini and Napocharged him, the standard-bearer of the political anti- lear, before he mounted the throne, and every French slavery party-such as it is, so-called-when he charg- newspaper, and every English, never for a moment ed him with the intention of using his free tongue to gave up scknowledging the right of Italy, the mo-make it less easy for Robert Wickliffe to hold his ment she got the power, to put down Austrian vic-

Mr. Douglas must have been crazy. other way to serve the nation, he refuses to obey the into the souls of their fellow-men. (Applause.)

crazy, he ought to be.

house of Hapsburg and the law of Austria, and the (Laughter.) He is ready to guide the affairs of negro is Italy, standing under the boof of Austria. thirty million of people, but he does not know wheth-What says Europe to Italy, standing so? Does it say, er a man owns his own daughter, and has not made Garibaldi '? Does it say, 'Wait! Victor up his mind whether it is right to sell babies by the Emanuel '? Does it say, 'Wait, Mazzini! wait, pound, and upon an auction-block that is placed side Count Cavour! until Francis Josephgets to be a by side with the Capitol of the United States! One lecent man and a Christian; until the populace of woman in that very District, seeing her two children Vienna get merciful enough to recognize the rights about to be sold to New Orleans, took their lives with of Venice'? No! Europe says to Italy, 'If you her own hands; and when she was asked the reahave iron, make it into swords, and tear down the son, said she would rather give them to God than house of Hapsburg! (Loud cheers.) You are a let them go down the Mississippi. They put her in nation, and you have a right, as such, to assert Italian the United States jail, and the nation, shrinking from iberty against Austrian invasion!' When I look at its own guilt, found an excuse for pardoning her, on the black man, I look at him as a nation. He is a the ground that she was insane! The Sermon on race. He is the majority of the State of South Carolithe Mount is crazy, in this country. Nobody even
na; there are more blacks than whites there. They does any thing right who is not insane. [A voice—

But take a more favorable element of the Repub- have a right to vote; they have a right to choose the result of the Repub- have a right to vote; they have a right to choose the result of the Republican mine favorable element of the Republican, he says that, as a politician, he says that, as a politician says that, as a politician says that

slaves, the enormity of the accusation was such, that lence by force. Away with the idea of insurrection ! Victor Emanuel is not an insurgent; Garibaldi is not That is the state of the political world. That is the a rebel; Mazzini is not a conspirator. Venice and dex which shows you how far the political world Rome were never so thoroughly annihilated under as travelled. At yonder door, you will see John the foot of the German, that to rise up and claim Doy, of Kansas, and in his hands an account of his the independence of classic Italy was a crime life there and in a Missouri jail. That book will tell against anything deserving the name of law; and the you that a few earnest men, abolitionists, thinking race that has produced such men as have walked our that there was something higher than law, something streets-thirty thousand, capable of taking their rights note potent than a Missouri writ to commit a freeman in their hand, and seeking them at every peril, unto a Missouri jail, went across the border, and took der the protection of the English flag, in Canadahim out—he never having been in Missouri, it was the race that has sent us such men as have spoken to physically impossible that he should ever have of- you this morning (applause)-has never been so defended Missouri lav. That was one of the outbreaks, graded, its manhood has never been so trodden out the natural outbreaks, of abolition feeling in the by the white men of thirty States, that when it rises Northern States. That was one of the inevitable re- to claim its rights, it can be called insurrection. (Loud sults of these anti-slavery principles planted in the applause.) John Hancock was not a rebel. George thearts of the common people. Mr. Doy comes out the Third was a tyrant, and the man that rose against of jail-comes East-comes to New England. Where him was a freemen, standing on God's platform, and does he find one atom of sympathy? In Republican claiming nothing but his rights. The tyrants of the sectings? From leading Republicans? From any- Carolinas, steeped in a blackness of darkness compared thing that can call itself Republican? No jot of it. with which George the Third was an angel of light-They cannot afford to sympathize with him. He only the men who rise against them are free men, and not finds it in abolition meetings. Take Mr. Hyatt. Mr. rebels. (Applause.) There is a great deal in words. Hyatt goes to Washington to look despotism in the There is no State South of Mason and Dixon's line. face, to assert the constitutional rights of the citizen, There is nothing but hordes of pirates, in midnight invaded by a Senate Committee; and, knowing no conclave, putting their hands into the pockets and

unconstitutional law, and walks into jail. What says the New York Tribune, the organ of political anti-slavery? 'A fool for your pains!'—'If he is not the cause of the slave. (Laughter.) Democratic con-I am only showing you that, as Abolitionists, we ventions all over the country listen to speeches from can place no reliance on anything outside of this pro- very earnest, enthusiastic men, bewailing the fact, fessedly anti-slavery movement. We have not yet that the efforts of Mr. Garrison and his followers have emancipated Wm. H. Seward, much less the black injured the cause of the 'poor slave.' Well, what slave. (Cheers.) We have not yet taken the gag off have we ever done, that Mr. Lincoln is so much the lips of Northern ministers and Northern politi- alarmed that he thinks that to enter an anti-slavery cians; we are just so far from our work. What is, meeting is to throw bombs and shells into Kentherefore, undoubtedly our policy, what is the inev- tucky'? That is the way he describes it; holds it itable dictate of duty, under these circumstances? off at arms' length. I have nothing to do with that It is, not to allow our hopes to centre on the success miserable agitation, says he, which makes Kentucky of a certain political party or candidate. I have no unhappy. What has that agitation claimed? Has it objection, personally, to the success of Mr. Lincoln or claimed for that slave in the Carolinas justice? That Mr. Seward; but I would rather that Stephen A. poor man, on the deck or in the hold of that Demo-Douglas should be President than either of them. cratic steamer that left Charleston, and who was sent We cannot afford yet to let Mr. Lincoln succeed, be- back to the hell of the Carolinas, how much did he cause, if he should, the country will say, 'The North ask of those Democrats? Justice? Did he say to them, has got the helm, let us see what the North is ready Gentlemen, for six generations I and my fathers to do-wait! '-and we shall have four years of wait- have cultivated the soil of Carolina, until it reflects ing, to see what Abe Lincoln won't do! (Laughter.) the hues of Paradise. I have poured wealth into the ose four years will be wasted. He will waste them lap of the white man; I have sent his sons to Europe in trying to make up his mind on the abolition of and to the North for education; I have nestled him slavery in the District of Columbia-in finding out in luxury; I have put him on to the very highest whether, after all, there ought to be an internal slave level of the nineteenth century; I have founded for trade. We cannot afford the success of such a man. him the stateliest mansions; I have built for him the Put a Democrat into the Presidential chair, and Mr. most comfortable cities; I have subdued for him the Lincoln is an agitator, Mr. Seward is an agitator, most fertile of States; I have filled his coffers to overevery Republican is an agitator. Free from the re- flowing; I have made him the basis of the commerce sponsibilities of office, they can afford to speak their of the world. Naked, pennyless, herded with the timents, to a certain extent. They can afford to brute, all I ask is to creep out from under this avaspeak of Kansas; they can afford to speak of Mr. lanche of oppression, and own the two hands that Hyatt. Why, Mr. Hyatt would be a martyr if this God gave me!' (Loud applause.) That was all he was the first day of December instead of May, be- claimed. He did not say- Democrats! men who cause then the Presidential election would be over, hold to the theory of equal justice! I claim of that and it could have neither good nor bad influence on master that he shall give to me a pittance of the the Republican nominee or the Republican canvass. wealth I and my fathers have created. I claim of The Tribune, instead of being brutal, would be only him that he shall not turn me out hated and pennythe faithful servant of the Northern thermometer. less, but shall give me clothing and food, a few My deduction from this is tantamount to what I months of education, and a little something to start am now going to say. We are accustomed to look with in the world.' No! all he asked was-'Drop at the slave as simply a victim under the heel of an me in mid ocean! Sever me from the Carolina individual white man. Our movement does not so naked as I am! Give me nothing but the muscles regard him. That political party looks at the stat- which your tyranny would have taken from me, i ute-book as the best result of the present state of you could have done it, for you have taken away America, as such. I do not. I consider that stat- everything else! Give me nothing but these, and ute-book the best result of the moral aentiment let me breathe! All I ask is what the veriest crimiof the white race. There is another race in this nal asks-liberty to breathe!' That is all the anticountry that have no voice in that statute-book. They slavery enterprise has ever claimed, and that claim is are a race—they are a nation. I do not stand here so frighful, that Mr. Lincoln has not had time to stretch to-day on the point that there is one slave to whom his mind wide enough to take it in, to rise to a level somebody has done an injustice, and we must go to the of morals and sublime virtue high enough to comwhite man, and crave that he will grow to be a better prehend it ! He is ready to be President, but does man, and raise his victim. That statute-book is the not yet know whether two and two make four.

new duty. It always exists. If you want to be Re- European governments-with his two hands filled publicans, if you want to be under self-governing in- with lies, thank God! thank God! thank God! thank stitutions, you must not imagine that such a move-ment as this, either religiously or politically, is a tem-to say to him, "You are too dirty! (Applause.) You porary expedient, is merely a thing of a day, is going are not available. Your instinct was not sharp to die out in a few years, is merely the necessity of a enough. You went too low.' Henry Clay said in few moments. Mr. Garrison is not the monstrous '39, that 'that was property which the law made growth of some inordinately fevered state of the body property.' But the American people said—'a vee bit politic. Just as long as this nation endures, just as too low, Harry!'—and they left him at Ashland. long as self-government is practised, on whatever ques- (Applause.) In 1860, Mr. Seward, fresh from Europe, tion tests the public sentiment of the States, there made another bid for the Presidency. His instinct must always be a John the Baptist going out into the was not keen enough; he went too low. They said,wilderness, followed by the curses of the pulpits of 'It won't do, Billy ! Go home to Auburn, we want Judea. (Applause.) And I will tell you why. I a cleaner man.' And they took Lincoln. Behind have been speaking our 'treason'; now I come to our that nomination there is an infinitely more hopeful 'infidelity.' (Laughter.) I can honestly say, without the least desire to startle you by a seeming para- which even the politician has to remember, and he must tains a shadow of respect for what are called Chris- which demands, at least, a decent candidate. tian institutions. (Applause.) As an observer of my own times, I marvel at the patient and long-en- Mn. Phillips.—Yes, he is; because he has never Christian denounces it, as a free man denounces it. during prejudice in favor of Christianity which makes said, in so many words, that John Brown was 'justly how the two would have mingled !- the divine pro failure in grappling with the sins of our own generation. I marvel at the faith that can believe, spite of scale of civilization and Christianity. (Applause.)

You will say this is very personal; you will say
it is very harsh personality. I know it. Did you is able to see the visible Church of God, when for ready uttered it, if he has not already graffied the devil thirty years it has been totally invisible. (Laughter by speaking it, he has not got so low as the statesman and applause.) Look at it! Not one large sect in of Auburn. (Laughter and applause.) I thank God, the land, not one respectable denomination, willing to therefore, that William H. Seward was rejected after abolition of slavery! Not one! Dr. South-side sign that, far off there in the Northwest, there is a Adams, Dr. Gardner Spring, Dr. Stuart, of Andover, leaven of that spirit that looks upon the negro as a Dr. Lord, of New Hampshire, the New York Ob- nation, with the right to take arms into its hands and of rust. The marvel is, that the whole body has any that gibbet of John Brown, not as the scaffold of health in it; that it sits there contented to acknowl- felon, but as the cross of a martyr. (Tremendous apedge to the world that they have, or pretend to have, plause.) the sword of the Spirit, and don't intend to use it; A Voice-Was he nominated because he was a betthat they are banded an organization against sin, and ter man than Mr. Seward? don't dure to say a word against slavery! Why is MR. PHILLIPS-No, not because he was a this? It is no fault of the individual clergyman. You for he never had said, he never had even condescendexpend yourselves in individual criticism. What is ed to consider whether there is an 'irrepressible con-Dr. Adams? A mere chip on the surface of a barren flict.' William H. Seward's name is irremediably as Nothing! He is nothing but a solitary leaf, hanging, in Lincoln is known merely as the antagonist of Dougthe late autumn, on the otherwise leafless and barkless las. He is claimed, here, by his defenders, as not Nothing else! But what is the tree-what is the may gather his dust together in his grave, and ask of church? I do not deny the intellectual ability of the the North, . Why blame me, if pattern Anti-Slavery clergy;—they have enough of both to occupy a much better position than they do before the world. But the pulpit can never be any thing but a servant, in a ever struck against the system of slavery, the martyr but a slave in a country like ours. The pulpit is noth-ing but the outer shed of the Lawrence factories; it that Webster was a traitor to the Northern States, ure-houses at Lowell. (Sensation.) The overseer House green, she wrote herself down recreant. We six days; the subordinate overseer, in the town single man, accountable for the wasted twenty years of church, on Sunday, takes care of their morals for political anti-slavery. But who is this huckster in politics? who is this county court advocate? who is this same wealth, owned by the same stockholders, and who does not know whether he has got any opinions? men. You cannot make bricks without straw. My commendation? It is that nobody knows bad or good friends, I am not saying that to startle you. What of him. His recommendation is, that out of the un-

who has been in that District, seen that very jail, that, while he is using that one little weapon of the gale, in her bosom. (Loud applause.) Never! never! walked over the very bridge on which that woman stood when the United States Marshal arrested her tor the heroism of protecting her own babes, for the divine act of saving her children from the Christian ment able to deal with this question. William H. Republic of the 19th century, for the godlike deed of Seward once said to me, 'Your speech in regard to saving her children from Abraham Lincoln (applause) public opinion is all very correct, but I am in the Sen--the man who stood on that very bridge has not yet ate, and I can do nothing about it. You must create And almost every man in this country-every intellimade up his mind whether the system which crushed that woman into that necessity is fit for a Christian thing, as far as it went; but the question resolved it-Republic or not! I say, that if we would rouse self into this: Is there a William H. Seward? Is such a people to the proper consideration of their own there a man behind that coat, or merely a New York duties, if we would make them fit for the crisis in Senator? Is it a man, with a conscience? When he which they stand, it is necessary that we should goes up to God, and the Almighty asks him, 'What go down to the very foundation of the ethics of this did you do to help the bondman? will he say,-'I question; that we should no longer confine ourselves did all the Empire State would let me. I did all that, to the mere claim which the anti-slavery movement considering the Democratic city of New York, it was has made of simple freedom, -bare liberty, -peace- available for me to do. Charles O'Conor and James fully letting men go out, after centuries of oppression. Buchanan and Stephen A. Douglas were such con-We have tried it thirty years, and politics has got down to that level [the speech of Mr. Lincoln].

There is no political anti-slavery existing at this done so, my neighbors would have called me crazy, moment. There is no movement in the political arens and I never should have been available.' So he put that calls itself anti-slavery. Of course, you know himself into the iron bedstead of a New York Senator there is none in the church. You know very well, and when he had got there-when, with one hand, he that, unfortunately, the ballot-box is a great deal had laid his sacrilegious grasp on that cross of Virahead of the communion table in its knowledge of ginis, and said, 'John Brown was a felon—thank ethics; and as we find no anti-slavery at the ballot- God they hung him ! '- when he had stretched out box, we cannot expect to find any at the communion- the left, and tilled it to overflowing with that other table. There rests upon us, therefore, that other duty atrocious lie, that in his soul he believed that the of arraigning the theology of the country. It is no vilest of our thirty States was better than the best of

dox, or to say any thing extravagant, but on the most so play his cards that there shall not rest upon his mature consideration, I can repeat what I have al-ready said three or four times, that with such a Union of the North cannot defend itself against this conand such a theology, I wonder any decent man re- science, scattered here and there among the people,

onfess that they have it in their hearts to ask for the making such a speech. It is a good sign. It is a server, they are not marvels; they are only little spots summon its friends to its side, and that looks upon

sea of Sodom! (Loud applause.) What matters he? sociated with that great philosophic principle. Mr. anches of what ought to be a tree. (Applause.) up to the level even of the Whigs of 1844. Webster pulpit; I do not deny the scholarly attainments of the can select a man not worthy to unloose the latchet of untry like ours; the pulpit can never be any thing of Marshfield may claim that he has struck a hunnothing but the outer shed of those colossal treas- and when Massachusetts put his statue on the Statesaide the mills, at a salary of three thousand dollars say, and say truly, that he sacrificed the North, and year, takes care of the hands of the operatives for that God will probably hold him, more than any other preach to the same whirring of the shuttle that is heard Why, he is like the tutor at Cambridge, of whom the six days in the week, and echoed on Sunday. (Ap- students said, that this mind was full of all manner plause.) I bring no accusations against individual of emptiness.' (Great merriment.) What is his repossible benefit could it be for me, in middle life, to known things in his past life, journals may make for me here to tickle your ears, and make you hate me? him what character they please. His recommen-None whatever. Do not think me such a thrice-sod-dation is, that his past is a blank; and the states-den fool? I am only trying to show you the land in man of New York, who has done (for so it may be which you live. I am only trying to uncover the said, to the honor of William H. Seward) as much as which you live. I am only trying to uncover the muscles and bones of this body politic, and let you know it. That church, so situated, cannot lead public sentiment. You might as well ask the slave of the Carolinas to dictate the policy of the State. One or two independent clergymen, like Dr. Cheever, for example, cannot make fresh the waters of the Dand Sea of American Sectarianism. (Applause)

Dead Sea of American Sectarianism. (Applause.) hands. You do not believe-there is not a man here There is not enough of him. He is only the excep- who believes—the proudest and firmest friend of Ma tion that proves the rule. What, therefore, is necessary? Why, this is necessary, that you should come heart, thought that Arkansas, the vilest of the States, here—you, American citizen—you, American church-member—you, Abolitionist,—that you should come men, incapable of tolerating free speech, a jumble of here, or go somewhere else, equally free, and create a pirates, a horde of pilferers, a place where, before an public sentiment that can deal with slavery. I do not honest man visits it, he makes his will and gives up find fault with Abraham Lincoln, or Henry Wilson, or Wm. H. Seward, that in the Senate of the United you know he never believed, that such a State as that

Presidential aspirations what every man in that Senate chamber knew was a lie. (Loud applause.) believes that the martyrs of English history were justly hung-that Sydney and Vane perished rightfully on the scaffold. If he lives to the honest age of seventy, when an American, having given up all hope of the Presidency, can afford for once in his life to speak the truth-if he lives to that age, and in some forgetful moment lets his heart flow out, as it did once at Plymouth Rock, you will hear those same wise lips of his group with Tell and with Wallace, with Vane and with Sydney, with Hampden and with Fayette, the more honored name of John Brown of Osawatomie. (Enthusiastic and prolonged cheering.)

The labor of this meeting is to create a public senment which will embolden men like Seward to speak their thoughts. I know it is a seemingly almost disreputable object to be avowed — that we should be here to ungag the lips of great men; but it is nevertheless true. You know that our statesmen live by whispering at Washington what they would not for the world have known at home, and whispering at home what they would not for the world have known at Washington; and that they are politically dead the moment they are equally well known in both places. (Laughter.) Cornelius Agrippa, the old necromancer of two centuries ago, it is said, in his magic glass, would summon before you the image of friend or relative, and let you see his occupation; or he would bring out some past or future hour of your own life, and let it stand revealed and palpable before you, and you would hear, echoing in the arches, the words which you had spoken, or were about to speak -so powerful was the magic. Suppose that at the very time that William H. Seward was uttering that cold-blooded, deliberate, well-considered, carefullyworded rebuke of John Brown, and Jefferson Davis and Mason and Wilson and Sumner were sitting aghast, one with sorrow and another with wonder at the Senator's credulity which supposed they could believe him sincere-suppose that, at that me some necromantic art could have made to echo through the arches of the Senate-chamber the profuse oathe, the indignant oaths, the hearty, cordial, impetuous oaths with which, when he heard of the murder of Stevens, he denounced it as a man denounces it, as a men cling to the belief that there is something in it, hung.' He never said, in so many words, that Ar- fanity above, the well-worded deviltry below. (Loud

You will say this is very personal; you will say demonstration against it. I marvel at the faith that A man may be capable of a lie, but if he has not al- ever know men in earnest who did not attack things and men? Take Charles James Fox's speeches ... why cannot you read them to-day? Because he grapples with a man; because he takes some rival statesman by the throat; because he says to the slave-traders of Bristol, 'murderers!' because he deals with men right on the spot. Take the orations of Burke-why do you read them to-day? Because they are more interesting to-day than they were fifty years ago. When he got up to speak, the House of Commons left the room. There is nothing but personality, nothing but criticism of idols, nothing but analyzing o parties and churches, that will do you any good. Call us fanatics, revile us for our personality, say that we attack reputations-what of that? We did not come into the world to keep ourselves clean. It is not our first and only duty to see that you love us. Popularity is not the great end of our creation. We came into the world to give truth a little jog onward; we came into the world to help our neighbor to his rights; we came into the world to take one link of the fetter off the limb of the slave. In order to do it, it is necessary to tear asunder your idols; in order to do it, it is necessary to cut the line that binds you vassal to the pulpit, and let you know that when you look up, you do not see an independent intellect, but you see the reflection of wealth. A hard thing to say: it makes a man odious to say it; but necessary to be said, necessary for you to learn, necessary for you to act upon. A negro cutting his master's throat is not a murderer—he is John Hancock in a new livery. (Loud applause.) Necessary for you to know, necessary for you to believe, necessary for you to say; and when you have said it twenty-five years, it will be stereotyped into character, character into statutes, and statutes into an insurrection, as you call it-a revolution, as we say.

> I know this is what you call revolutionary talking; mean it such. Some men seem to think that this Anti-Slavery cause, being certain to succeed-(nobody doubts that; God made the black man, and as he eigns he will see to it, in his own time, that the black man has his rights. If there is a God, the Anti-Slavery movement will succeed.) Before I pass from that, however, allow me to show you how our religious teachers always put this idea of success when they do pray-the very best of them. They will ask God to remove sickness, to give us rain, to give us peace and prosperity, to give us health If they have a friend going abroad, they will ask God to protect him, generally, frankly, without suggesting conditions; but the best of them, when they come to pray for freedom, will say, 'O Lord, wilt Thou break the yoke of the oppressor in Thine own good time!' Suggesting that He had better ot do it hastily (laughter): don't expect Him to do it at present: He may not be surprised, and we will not be surprised, if there is not any fitness of things, just now. We want the rain to-day; we want the grain to-day; this friend wants safety on the Atlantic, and that wants relief from his fever-'grant it'! That man wants liberty—'give it—in Thine own good time.' (Laughter.) 'Don't give it too soon; he may not be ready for it!'

A Voice-Brother Sloane don't pray so. Mr. PHILLIPS-(counting on his fingers)-Brother

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-any more? [A voice, 'Dr. Cheever.'] Any more? ['Henry T. Cheever.'] Any more? ['Ward Beecher.'] Any more? I have not got through one hand yet. (Loud laughter and applause.) thousand American pulpits, and the warmest friends and most intelligent have to bethink themselves be fore they can count up ten! (Applause.) I submit that, according to Old Testament rule, they are no enough to save Sodom, for they wanted ten. (Laugh-

Do not understand me as denying that there are glorious exceptions. Do not une glorious exceptions. Do not understand me as denying the worth of these. Our eloquent friend, Mr. me, is so habitually upon this platform, that we almost forget to call him reverend. (Laughter.) He is not included. I have no right to include, either, his whole brotherhood of seven hundred clergyme of the old 'Covenanters,' who keep their faith and stretch out no hand to touch the United States Constitution. I know there are local and secondary sect who are thus faithful and loval to the principles of justice. I do not find fault with them. speak of the American Church, it is that body repre ented by millions of Methodists, by millions of Pres byterians and Baptists and Congregationalists, all o them partners in one great conspiracy against the slave, all of them agreeing to keep the Bible out of the statute-book. To no one of their altars would a fugitive slave ever be ignorant enough to flee. In Egypt, in Rome, in Europe, all down the Middle Ages, if a fugitive slave could find the shelter of a Pagan or Catholic altar, he was safe from the law. What slave, dug up from the mud of the Carolinas without ideas sufficient to know where the North Star is, was ever so ignorant as to run to the altar of Bouth-side Adams for protection, even when a thou-sand miles from home? He knows it by instinct. You may take a hound, and fondle him in your par lor; you may feed him with the white hand of beauty and make him a pet for a dozen years; but turn him into the forest, and let him see a deer, and he will spring at his jugular vein, and drag him down. So the fugitive slave, with every idea dragged down to the dust, with no espacity of counting five, with no sense, except to breathe, when he gets to Boston, with instinctive sagacity knows that he must give Essex Street Church the widest berth, and come as near a

I have forgotten what I was about to say, when turned saide to speak of this matter of prayer; and as I have spoken longer than I thought, and as there are others who will occupy the time, you will excuse me from saying more.

possible to this platform. (Applause.)

The Liberator.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

BOSTON, JUNE 8, 1860.

THE INSURRECTION OF 1776!

The eighty-fifth anniversary of this great Ameri can triumph will be celebrated by a grand MASS MEETING, in the handsome and commodious Grove in FRAMINGHAM, on Wednesday, July 4th. Turning with abhorrence from the mockery of commemorating the achievements of Freedom by servility to Slavery, let all who hate despotism in the garb of Democrac and Republicanism as well as of Monarchy, and would overthrow it by every weapon that may be legitimately wielded against it, assemble to consid the solemn and pregnant issues of the hour-how we may best preserve the principles of the Revolution, and carry them forward to a speedy and enduring

Special trains will run upon the different railroads as heretofore. An able corps of eloquent speakers will be in attendance. [Particulars hereafter.]

FRANCIS JACKSON, WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Committee E. H. HEYWOOD, DR. H. O. STONE, CHARLES A. HOVEY, GEO. W. STACY,

MR. SUMNER'S SPEECH.

After a painfully enforced silence of four years in his seat in the U. S. Senate-a silence caused by the destardly and murderous assault of one who has since been called to his 'final account'-the Hon. Charles Sumner delivered a speech in that body, on the 4th inst., occupying four hours, on 'The Barbarism of Slavery,' in which the brutal and revolting features of manner, and the superiority of free institutions over slave institutions exhibited by an overwhelming array of facts and figures, admitting of no refutati Throughout, its spirit was lofty, dignified and bold. indicative of high moral intrepidity and a noble purpose. No attempts were made to interrupt him, though the smothered wrath of the Southern mem bers must have been excessive. Here is all that fol-

Mr. Chesnut, of S. C., made a brief response to Mr. Sumner's speech, speaking of it as an extraordi-nary one. After ranging over Europe, sneaking through the back doors of English aristocracy, and fawning at their feet, this slanderer of States and men has reappeared in the Senate.

He had hoped, after the punishment he had received for his insolence, that he would have become

is insolence, that he would have learned pro-but he had repeated his former vulgarity and ity. The Egyptians defined reptiles, but it nclined to put further punishment recipient of a former chastisement, who had gone howling through the world, yelping out volumes of alander, and he would therefore endeavor to keep

quiet.

Mr. Sumner said he had pointed out the barbarism of slavery, and the Senator's rejoinder should go as an apperdix and fitting illustration of his argument.

Adjourned.

To the low blackguardism of the Carolina Senate (why was he not instantly called to order by the President?) nothing could be more felicitous than the retort

'Mr. Sumner's speech attracted a large audience to the Senate galleries, which continued well filled during the four hours of his scourging review of Slavery in all its relations, political, social, moral, and 'There appeared to be a studied effort a during the four hours of ms scourging review of Sia-very in all its relations, political, social, moral, and economical. There appeared to be a studied effort a indifference on the Democratic side, for only a dozer Senators were in their seats during the first hour of two. Afterward they gradually appeared, and lead-ing Southern members from the House contributed to the general interest by their presence and atten-tion.

on.

As a whole, this speech was regarded as being mor
ffensive by the South than the one which create
such a sensation before, and there is reason to believ that, but for prudential considerations, it might have been attended with similar results. It was found been attended with similar results. It was found quite difficult to restrain some decided exhibition of resentment in certain quarters. The only expression of indignation which found vent was in Mr. Chesnut's brief and angry reply, from which the general temper of the South may be inferred, as he is regarded among the most discreet and considerate in his tone and bearing.

In order that our readers may be put in immedia possession of this masterly speech of Mr. Sumner, we blish it in an extra, which is equivalent to giving them an extra number of the Liberator, as it would occupy four pages of our paper in the type ordinarily ased by us. Its circulation will be immense, and i will be read by millions. That portion of it which relates to the U. S. Constitution is open to criticism

PHOTOGRAPHIC LIEBNESS OF HENRY C. WRIGHT. very accurate and spirited photographic likeness of Humanity, Freedom and Progress, by C. M. SEAVER, a very promising young artist of this city, may be obtained of Bela Marsh, 14 Bromfield Street, or of B. F. Wallent, Anti-Slavery Office. Price \$1.

for 1860 assembled at the Melodeon, in Boston, on Wednesday, May 30th. At the hour of ten, at which time the Hall was entirely filled and crowded with of a Reformed Presbyterian (Covenanter) Church in people from all parts of the New England States, that city, was next called to the stand. After a few Frances Jackson, President of the Massachusetts words of kind and respectful allusion to the market Anti-Slavery Society, called the Convention to order, and offered, in behalf of the Committee of Arrange-ments, the following list of officers for the due organization of the Convention :-

JOHN T. SARGENT, of Boston.

Vice Presidents, Peter Libbey, George F. Talbot, of Maine, Abraham Folsom, of New Hampshire, Benjamin Chase, Rev. N. R. Johnston, of Vermont, Francis Jackson, " Boston,

Edmund Quincy, " Plymouth, Bourne Spooner, William Durfee, " New Bedford James M. Aldrich. " Fall River, Nathaniel Robbins, " Harwich, Thomas J. Hunt, " Abington, Worcester,

James A. Whipple,

Benjamin Snow, Jr.,

Gardner, A. A. Bent, Robert Hassell, " Haverhill. William Ashby. " Newburyport Salem, Chas, Lenox Rem Daniel S. Whitney, " Southboro James N. Buffum, " Lynn, " Concord,

" Fitchburg,

Samuel Barrett. M. G. Kimball, " Andover. William Jenkins Chas. C. Burleigh, " Connecticut, Rodney Moore, Elizabeth B. Chase, Rhode Island.

William Lloyd Garrison, Abby Kelley Foster,

N. R. Johnston, Wendell Phillips, Andrew T. Foss, Maria W. Chapman Lydia Maria Child. Aaron M. Powell. Charles C. Burleigh, Henry C. Wright. Secretaries,

Wendell P. Garrison Samuel May, Jr., E. H. Heywood,

R. H. Ober,

Finance Committee, James N. Buffum, Elbridge Sprague, Sallie Holley, E. D. Draper, Elizabeth M. Powell. The Convention accepted the above list, and unani

nously elected the persons named. JOHN T. SARGENT took the Chair, and made introductory remarks relative to the associations of the Hall in which the meeting was assembled, and slaves should grow to be men, as they assuredly would. referring especially to the death of Theodore Parker.

Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, of Syracuse, read appropriate Scripture selections, and offered prayer. W. L. GARRISON, from the Business Committe

reported and read the following resolutions:--Whereas, no elements can be more antagonistical o nore irreconcilable than those of Liberty and Slavery; and, therefore, no experiment more insane or more disastrous than that of attempting to amalgamate them in the same government, and within the same

Whereas, in the formation and adoption of the Conto quote the language of John Quincy Adams, 'the of justice and freedom to seek to annihilate. slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves-namely, an immunity for twenty years of preserving the African slave trade—the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves-and the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of representation for slaves, for articles of merchandize, ander the name of persons'; and the entire military and naval power of the nation was pledged to the suppression of every form of domestic insurrection;

Whereas, (again to quote Mr. Adams.) in the articles of Confederation, there was no guarantee for the property of the slaveholder-no double representation him in the Federal councils-no power of taxation-no stipulation for the recovery of fugitive slaves; but when the powers of government came to be delegated to the Union, the South refused their subscrip- the slave as a man, and, in his opinion, when Mr. Calthe infection of slavery, which no fumigation could wealth he had dug from the soil against the universe. purify, no quarantine could extinguish :- the freemen he never thought of it as applying to the slave. He slavery being infused into the Constitution of free- condemn Daniel Webster for siding in the enactment dom ;-andshus reduced to the alternative of depart- of the Fugitive Slave Bill, yet they virtually reing from the vital principle of their liberty, or forfeiting the Union itself, they averted their faces, and with The Republican office-seeker was compelled to wen

trembling hand subscribed the bond; ' therefore, thority) 'the bargain between Freedom and Slavery, him. In regard to the attitude of a large portion of contained in the Constitution of the United States, with the principles on which alone our Revolution universal endorsement of Helper's 'Impending Crisis.' can be justified, cruel and oppressive by riveting the To his mind they were far from endorsing it. Bu chains of slavery, by pledging the faith of freemen to he himself would recommend its circulation, although maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master, he could not endorse fully all its contents, and showed and grossly unequal and impolitic by admitting that the obvious difference between indorsing a book's senslaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, timents, and recommending its circulation. Finally, property to be rescued and returned to their owners, whom their masters are privileged with nearly a ent wording would tend to defeat the cause he in double share of representation. The consequence has tended to promote, and he supposed Mr. Wright been, that this slave representation has governed the meant that the slaveholder had no right to be such Union; Benjamin, portioned above his brethren, has but, by common minds, they might be construed to ravined as a wolf; in the morning he has devoured mean that they had no rights, as men.

such a Constitution, the people of the North have of Mr. Wright's resolutions! To say merely that made 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND WITH RELL slaveholder had no right to his slaves, was, in hi ARE THEY AT AGREEMENT '- insanely declaring that opinion, exceedingly tame for a Garrisonian Abolition shall not come unto us; for we have made lies our rights at all, not even to breathe a breath of God's

vere God, to hold the principles of justice and the North to put weapons into the hands of the oppress claims of suffering humanity as of paramount im- to aid them in the accomplishment of their object swelling out in a high wall, whose breaking cometh suddenly at an instant. And he shall break it as the

pieces: he shall not spare.' Resolved, That while the present unhallowed Union exists, the people of the North cannot fail to be demoralized by it, as well as to involve themselves in the judgments impending over it-cannot maintain any ground of moral consistency in their opposition to slavery-cannot prevent the extension of the acntinue to add sin to sin, to deepen their guilt, to play the part of dissemblers and hypocrites, and to hurry the nation down to irretrievable ruin.

with his usual faithful and earnest spirit, by CHABLES LENOX REMOND, of Salem.

H. FORD DOUGLASS, of Chicago, was the second

NEW ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVEN- speaker, and delivered a very eloquent and effective TION.

address. This was Mr. D.'s first visit to New England, and his first anti-slavery speech here, and the impression made was of a highly favorable character.

Rev. J. R. W. SLOANE, of New York city, Paste ability and eloquence of the two preceding speakersboth colored men-Mr. SLOANE delivered an antislavery speech of the most impressive and uncompr nising character.

The Convention, on motion, voted, That the follow ing be assigned as the hours of meeting of this Con vention during its session, vix.: 10, 23 and 74.

In the absence of Rev. Dr. CHEEVER, who had bee expected as the next speaker, but who found it impo sible to get through the crowd, the platform was take by WENDELL PRILLIPS, Esq., who spoke for an hou in review of the present position of the Republican party, and in criticism of its leading men, and es pecially of its candidate for the Presidency. He spoke also of the general false character of the American

Full reports of all these speeches may be expected Mr. GARRISON referred to the coincidence of the presence of John Brown at the Anti-Slavery Con vention a year ago, and the presence of his widow truly a noble woman-on our platform to-day. The fact of Mrs. Brown's presence, thus made known to pression of the deep sympathy felt for her and her children.

Adjourned to the afternoon.

come under her not

AFTERNOON.-The Convention was called to order by the President at 3 o'clock. Mr. GEORGE W. CLARK, of Rochester, New York

sang with much expression an appropriate song o progress.

Mrs. F. B. Morris, who represented herself as slave for twenty-three years, requested opportunity to speak, which was granted. She said she had been, not a slave on a Southern plantation, but a slave to an intemperate step-mother and husband. She related some cases of prejudice against color which had

She was followed by HENRY C. WRIGHT, who asked question to this effect :- If he had a child under his care whom he had educated in evil ways, and then the child practised upon him the lessons he had taught him, had he a right to complain? if he in such cas deserved the sympathy of the people? If he had taught the child it was right to rob, to steal, to pick pockets, had he a right to complain if the child robbed him? He thought not. Applying the illustration t the system of slavery, he said, the slaves were pupils of the slaveholders, who had taught them that there were no rights of property or person, and when the and should practice upon the slaveholder the lessons he had taught them, would the oppressor have any right to complain, or would he be entitled to the sympathy of the Northern people? After further remarks on the same idea, he read the following resolu tions as expressive of his own sentiments:-

Resolved. That individual slaveholders, as such have no rights, but are to be regarded and treated as the most inexcusable enemies of mankind.

Resolved, That slaveholding States have no rights, but are to be treated by the people and States of the North as self-incorporated bands of American corsairs stitution of the United States, 'it cannot be denied,' whose power it is the right and duty of all the friends

Resolved. That slaves, as such, owe no obedience service or duties to their enslavers; and a religion of government that enjoins on them such duties or obligations, deserves only the scorn and contempt of mankind

Resolved. That in Helper's 'Impending Crisis.' se generally endorsed by Republicans, we find the true and only scheme for the abolition of slavery, i. e., No co-operation with slaveholders in politicslowship with them in religion-no affiliation with them in society-no patronage of slaveholding merchants-no guestship in slave waiting hotels-no fee to slaveholding lawyers-no employment to slaveholding physicians-no audience to slaveholding personsno recognition of slaveholding men, except as ruffians. outlaws and criminals.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, in reply, said that the majority of the people at the North never thought of tion to the parchment till it should be saturated with houn made the remark that a man had a right to the of the North giving way, and the deadly venom of said that the mass of the Republicans were ready to enacted it every time they took a seat in Congres two faces, one looking in the direction his heart die Resolved, That (again to quote the same high au- tated, and the other in the way the Constitution bade the Northern people, he thought Mr. Wright had MORALLY AND POLITICALLY VICIOUS, inconsistent given them too much credit, when he spoke of their he wished to make some alteration in the phraseolog persons not to be represented themselves, but for of Mr. Wright's resolutions, as he considered the pre-

the prey, and in the evening has divided the spoil.' Rev. JOHN PIERPONT next addressed the Conver Resolved, That, in consenting to the adoption of tion. He did not like the milk-and-water characte when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, it ist. He considered the slaveholder, as such, had no refuge, and under falsehood have we hid ourselves.' free atmosphere. He was for encouraging the slave to resist their masters, with violence if need be, and Resolved, That the cry should go forth from the to rise against him, in order to obtain their liberty; heart and the lips of every one who professes to re- and he considered it the duty of the people of the portance, to regard chattel slavery as 'the sum of all The speaker hoped and believed no slave would ever villanies,' and liberty as the inalienable birthright of be again returned to slavery from the soil of Massachu every human being, 'THIS COVENANT WITH setts, and before he would lift his hand or his voice DEATH MUST BE ANNULLED, AND THIS for the return of a fugitive slave, he would see the AGREEMENT WITH HELL MUST NOT STAND, Union dissolved, though he knew it would be by no matter what convulsions may follow, or what in- civil war, in which he and his children would fall by terests may be temporarily affected by it; -for if this the sword. In conclusion, he said, LET US BE PREE be not done, then to this nation God proclaims, 'Be- let us not be brought into bondage by any laws which cause ye despise this word, and trust in oppression man can make, or by any constitution that our fathers and perverseness, and stay thereon; therefore THIS could make. But let us petition our State Govern-INIQUITY shall be to you as a breach ready to fall, ment until it gives us a shield to protect us from the

harpy claws of the Slave Power. Mr. RANDOLPH, who claimed to be a descendant of breaking of the potter's vessel that is broken in Pocahontas, took the stand, and spoke at some length on the subject of slavery, and expressed his willing ness to labor with those who have for their fundamen tal object the extirpation of the curse of America slavery, although he believed there were measures a effectual as those adopted by this Society, and among these the ballot-box, in which he was a believer. H urged every one to sympathize with the slave, and told them it was their duty to bring about a thorough radical change, and extirpate this infernal system. In the course of his remarks, he was interrupted by Mr Fowler, who wished to state some facts disparaging the speaker's character. Mr. Fowler was called to order. Much discussion, relative to points of order, lowed, and both Messrs. Fowler and Randol made brief statements; and after a few general re-

marks from Mr. Wickes, of Wisconsin, the Convention adjourned to the evening.

clock, the PRESIDENT in the Chair. Mr. CLARK, of Rochester, again sang an anti-slavery

DOUGLASS, of Chicago, Rev. E. C. Town, of Brain- his interest in the school of Prudence Crandell for tree, Rev. J. Sella Martin, of Boston, and E. H. colored girls, in Canterbury, Conn. He said his blo HEYWOOD, of Boston, whose impressive speeches, lis- was warm before that school was mobbed, but after sened to with the closet attention and often applaud- the mob his blood boiled! He went on to give some ed, will be hereafter reported at length. Adjourned to Thursday at 10.

THURSDAY.

ording to adjournment, the President in the chair. was read to the Convention :-

Vith great respect, yours, very truly, CHARLES HOWARD MALCOM.

On Mr. Garrison's motion, Voted, That, in consideration of the number of speakers present, each one body-guard of slavery, and the last speaker confess

Voted, That the hour of 111 be assigned for the is to be found on this platform. onsideration of the financial condition of the Mas- STEPHEN S. FOSTER spoke of his change of views sachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and of contributions and of the new political party of which he is a sup-

criticise a little Mr. Wright's resolutions, which said indefinitely postponed. He wished fair play for the sons of violence and enslavement taught him by his master. He (Mr. Foss) considered the slave culpable who should undertake to enslave others, inas slavery right in itself. There was not a slave so igno- ter that the resolutions were an attack upon the new be it practised by black or white. God had not made the human soul so mean as to be capable of believing He maintained that, in fact, and in the confession that slavery was right. He did not consider there could be any actual infidelity to the everlasting truth tion was what the resolutions prono ordained by God. That is always recognized and acknowledged, although people may fail to live to it.

t was the universal sentiment of the ration that the his course in moving for the indefinite postponement black man has no right to do to the white as the of the resolutions. white man does to the black, in regard to the rights of property and person. It was in view of this infernal doctrine that he framed the resolutions. The question was, whether the people of the North would go South to prevent the slave from cutting his master's throat, should he rise to do so. The Republican party is pledged to do this as a party; is pledged to protect the master against the slave, but not the slave against his master.

J. H. Fowler, of Cambridge, proposed to exhibit the objects and results of the Garrisonian party and of the Republican party. The Republican party, on the testimony of its leaders, has no ulterior ends but the non-extension of slavery; and even in the Chi- table. Carried. cago platform, there is no declaration of a purpose to present amount, or more. The object of the Aboli- beloved friend, Mr. Parker :tionists can only be accomplished by force—the force Resolved, That in the death of our beloved friend of civil organization, or the force of arms, i. e., insur- and fellow-laborer, John W. Browne, the anti-slavery rection. The former should be chosen.

Rev. N. R. JOHNSTON, of Topsham, Vt., next took friend—one who gave to it the aid of strong the stand. He said he would be brief, and if, last powers and the most liberal culture; the example of evening, when listening to eloquent speeches, while a life of rare simplicity, and of the most scrupulous the fire was burning in his own bosom, he had had and delicate conscientiousness - a spirit of self-sacri an opportunity, he would have given vent to the fice, and a rigid adherence to absolute right at every thoughts rising in his soul for utterance. Upon the cost-a peculiar sweetness and openness of conduct. Garrisonian platform he felt at home. He had heard which won the attention and regard of those who most several ministers of the gospel say that, though they hated his opinions, and a hand only too generous is stood upon the Garrisonian platform, they should go lavishing aid on every applicant; in him, the cause of next November, and vote for Lincoln and Hamlin, woman, of the poor, the intemperate, the imprisoned This he deemed inconsistent. He referred to what and of the slave, lost a ripe intellect, a brave, loving was said the evening previous about the doctrines of and religious spirit, a vigilant and untiring frienddamnation and salvation; and he must say he still one who spared neither time, money nor effort-and believed in a hell for the oppressor and his apologist, in the path of duty asked no counsel of expediency, But he did not come here for the purpose of discus. met cheerfully every sacrifice, paused at no peril, and ting any theological doctrine, but only about slavery, feared not the face of man. simply stating that he took Jesus Christ for his guide. ing government. He closed with offering the follow- Browne,

Resolved, That the high moral position occupied y the non-voting Abolitionists who adopt the motto, State,' is the only position the Christian can rightly and fellow-laborer, Theodore Parker, liberty, justice powerfully to the destruction of slavery; whilst all pions—one whose tireless industry, whose learning, other theories and positions are not only sinful, but the broadest; most thorough and profound New Engthe very foundation of morality, and therefore to be brave and fervent heart, earned for him the widest epudiated by all lovers of God and man.

fore the meeting, he would sing a song. The Dream, in utterance; the most Christain minister at God's which he did greatly to the gratification of the as-

tirs took the platform, and spoke in behalf of a generous contribution to the Society's treasury. Our ter and watchful malice found no stain, kind of ethics which justify them in so doing. He o the wheel to help along the old pioneer Society. We come here to listen to men whose lives are given to the cause, but who, living in the very focus of acthose who live outside the pressure that aid is expected. He had no respect for abolitionists who came to the Convention merely for an hour's amusement, and not to let their ' blood bound to keep step to the music' of God's providence and purpose. He re-lated an anecdote of a convert to the anti-slavery faith, who said, with much self-congratulation in his newly-gained freedom, that when he was a church- FREEMAN CLARKE, and the President. nember, it had cost him fifty dollars a year, but this cause had cost him only five

Mr. GARRISON introduced to the audience two young lads, fugitive slaves from the State of Kentucky, who had made good their escape and wished Evening. - The Convention re-assembled at 74 to get employment. They were smart-looking lads

DEXTER S. KING, of Boston, referred to his intimacy in early days with Peter Salem, the colored The speakers at the evening session were H. Ford man who shot Major Pitcairn at Bunker Hill; also to interesting facts about the former history of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the subject of slavery, and stated its present position. He thought there had been a great advance on the part of that body. Their The Convention reassembled at the Melodeon, ac- standing rules have always forbidden the buying and selling of human beings as slaves. Four years ago. The following letter from Charles Howard Mal-, they sought to change the rule to 'buy or sell.'

ON, Pastor of the Baptist Church in Newport, R. I.,

Yesterday, at Buffalo, nearly two-thirds of the General Conference voted to alter the rule so as to make NEWFORT, R. I., May 21, 1860.

SANUEL MAY, JR., Esq.:

DEAR SIR—Your note inviting me, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, to be present at the next meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention was duly received. meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, was duly received.

In reply, I beg to say that, if my arrangements will permit, it will afford me pleasure to comply with your invitation. As I change my place of residence to another part of the city about the last part of this month, I am somewhat doubtful if I shall be able to leave home at that time. However, whether I am present or absent, be assured that my whole heart is with you in the cause of the slave.

If my voice, uttering its testimony against the guilt of oppression, upon your platform, can be of any service, it shall be heard there, if in my power. He walks a way strewn with thorns who, either South or North, fronts the great sin of our national life, and which the slave must view it, and in the light in which the gentleman who last spoke presented it.

North, fronts the great sin of our national life, and which the slave must view it, and in the light in bears against it the entire weight of his opposition; but, it is a way which piety and patriotism both mark out, and which duty bids us follow. May God help all such, and give victory to the right and true!

What would have been thought had the General Conference fallen short of a two-thirds vote in conference of the con demning one of the greater evils of society, like prostitution? In its present position, the Methodist Episcopal Church is composed of those who are the be requested not to extend his remarks beyond thirty himself one of that guard. The only stay to the tide which is setting toward slavery in Church and party

porter. He objected to the attack on that party Andrew T. Foss was called upon, and said that which had been made here in the resolutions of the the thirty minutes rule would not incommods him, as he wished to speak only a short time. He wanted to that the slave was not to blame for practising the les- new party, which he claimed would one day be the movement of the country. Mr. Garrison, in reply to Mr. Foster, begged the

attention of the audience to a second reading of the much as he did not believe that the slave could think resolutions. He replied to the assertion of Mr. Fosrant or degraded but knew that slavery was a crime, party. They were, he said, merely the embodiment of the sentiment of the Society for twenty years and practice of the American people, the Constitu Mr. FOSTER complained of misrepresentation which he had suffered at the hands of the Anti-Slavery So

Mr. WRIGHT rose to defend his position, and said ciety for the last four years. He went on to defend The question was put on Mr. Foster's motion, and

it was rejected. Adjourned to the afternoon.

AFTERNOON.-The Convention was called to order by the President at 3 o'clock. S. S. FOSTER claimed the floor to discuss the reso lutions before the Convention.

Rev. S. J. May, of Syracuse, said that notice had been given yesterday that at this hour resolutions on the death of Theodore Parker would be offered. EDMUND QUINCY moved that the resolutions r before the Convention be temporarily laid on the

MR. PHILLIPS-Our friend, Theodore Parker, wa admit no more slave States. The Republican party is a great light, but we have lost, within the last month, no more anti-slavery than the Democratic party of another earnest, devoted friend not only of this So-Ohio in 1845, and of other States in 1848. The non- ciety, but of the Anti-Slavery cause, in regard to extension principle would admit the growth of sla- whom I have a resolution from the Business Commitvery where it is to a vast extent, a hundred times its tee to precede and accompany those relating to cur

cause has lost a most uncompromising and devoted

Resolved, That the President of this Convention He argued the wickedness of sustaining a slavehold- forward a copy of this resolution to the widow of Mr. with an assurance of our most respectful and profound sympathy with her in her great loss.

Mr. PHILLIPS then presented and read the follow-

ing resolutions :-No Union with Slaveholders in either Church or Resolved, That in the death of our beloved friend nd safely occupy, and, at the same time, tends most and truth lose one of their ablest and foremost chammost corrupting in their tendency, and subversive of land knows, whose masterly intellect, melted into a and most abiding influence; in the service of truth Mr. CLARKE said, as the subject of theology was be- and right, lavish of means, prodigal of labor, fearless fidelity saves the name of the ministry from being The hour assigned for taking donations to the So- justly a reproach and bye-word with religious and ciety having arrived, the Finance Committee proceeded to receive such contributions, and Mr. Philof bigot and priestly hate, yet on whose garments bitnovement, said he, is the only one that has for its the altar the fruits of the most unresting toil, yet ever object THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. We have upon our shelves thousands of publications, the recent incidents of the reign of mob-law at the South, the sense, deep feeling and love of right for whose ele letter of Victor Hugo, John Brown's example, Mrs. quent voice millions waited in every hour of darkness Child's 'Right Way the Safe Way,' O'Connell's and peril, whose last word came, fitly, across the Testimonies, &c., to be carried to the people. Who shall carry them? Most of the anti-slavery people tyrs of Harper's Ferry :—the store-house of the lore of vote, and go to some church every Sabbath, which every language and age, the armory of a score of utterly fails in its duty to the slave, and find some wespons sacred to right, the leader whose voice was kind of ethics which justify them in so doing. He wished them to at least earn the right to be considered honest in their ethics, by putting their shoulders to the wheel to help along the old pioneer Society hate of everything selfish, heartless and base in the land; in time to come the slave will miss keenly that voice always heard in his behalf, and which a nation was learning to heed-and whoever anywhere lifts a tion and constantly applied to for donations of money, hand for any victim of wrong and sin, will be lonelier and weaker for the death we mourn to-day.

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolution b sent to Mrs. Parker, with fit expression of our most sincere and respectful sympathy in this hour of her bitter grief and sad bereavement.

These resolutions were spoken to by Rev. SAMURI J. MAY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, W. L. GARRISON, JAS.

A full report of these deeply-interesting co orative addresses may be found in subsequent columns. The Convention voted to request the lin chusetts Anti-Slavery Society to publish then separate pamphlet.

The resolutions relative to Mr. PARKER and N. BROWNE were then unanimously adopted,

The resolutions before the Society, as reper the Business Committee, then were taken up. Mr. Foster spoke in opposition to them. Red Mr. Foster spoke in organizations to be to be the supporters of the Constitution under a month and, so far as his new party was concerned, to der its supporters. He referred to the change in in opinions relative to the Constitution. He would p take the testimony of J. Q. Adams, who was into enced, he said, by some present motive, to char enced, he same the constitution as he did. He (M_r, P_r) is not believe the Constitution was a compact; it is any a bill of instructions given by the people to the gar ernment. Our fathers meant to establish a home racy, and to carry out the doctrines of the Declarion of Independence. They were not perjured nea, Mr. Foster's half hour here expired, and he had

Mr. BURLESON took the floor in reply, M & fathers promised to established justice, they did hat fathers promised to the stablish a Democracy they made a mixed government of democracy and aristocracy. Mr. Burleigh examined for half to hour the various points made by Mr. Foster in a very able and logical speech.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., moved that the question be now taken on the resolutions. No new point, he said, had been advanced against them by Mr. Foster, The audience had heard repeated discussions of the subject, and had thought and read much on the subject for many years. Mr. Foster had no reason to regard our renffirmation of our own principles and convictions as an attack upon his new party.

The Convention sustained the call for the vote, which, being taken, was overwhelmingly in favor of the resolutions, only a few voices being raised in the negative.

The Convention then adjourned size die. JOHN T. SARGENT, Printers. SAMUEL MAY, Jr., E. H. HEYWOOD, WENDELL P. GARRISON, Secretaries. DEATH OF JOHN W. BROWNE, ESQ. AND

REV. THEODORE PARKER

Commemorative Meeting at the Melodeen Phonographic report for THE LIBERATOR by J. M. W. YERRING

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, May 31, At this session of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, the series of resolutions presented by Mr. PHILLIPS, relating to the recent decease of John W. BROWNE, Esq. and Rev. THEODORE PARKER, See praceding column, came up for consideration by special assignment.

THE PRESIDENT-I can only say, for myself, that, perhaps, I have no right to a single moment of the precious time, so wisely assigned to other speaken; but this let me say, as the presiding officer of this Convention, that under no auspices, perhaps, could this fitting tribute be more suitably and profitably offered, than under those of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention; and, were the tribute to be comnensurate with the worth of our dear friend, it might better be said, under the anspices of the United States Anti-Slavery Convention, or the wide world's Anti-Slavery Convention. For who more than he has been the fearless champion of human rights? This, as was said yesterday, of all places in this city of his professional labors, is the fitting place for our tribute: for you remember it was here that he first planted the standard of freedom of speech and the freedom of the pulpit, which he so manfully and nobly sustained to the hour of his death. I am sure there are many here present who well remember the stormy day in the month of February, 1845, when he met here his few and fondly-attached followers, and here inaugarated that freedom which he so bravely carried out

But, as I said when I began, I have no rightthough my heart is full enough, Heaven knows-to encroach upon the time which has been assigned to other and abler speakers. You are to hear, this afternoon, from our friend, Wendell Phillips, [spplause, | who is here, and, I presume, bears is hand resolutions appropriate to the occasion.

SPEECH OF REV. SAMUEL J. MAY. Rev. S. J. May, of Syracuse, N. Y., came forward

and said :

Ma. Par Convention long with what I have to say. You are all expecting, and expecting justly, from the lips of him who has just read to you the resolutions, a speech which will be more worthy of them and of the occasion than anything that I can offer. But I deem it a privilege as well as a duty first to press upon you-if, indeed, they need to be pressed-those resolutions, expressive of the sorrow which every one who had aught to do with this or any other of the attempted reforms in our country must feel, when they think of the departure of those who have been so true, so faithful, so fearless. I look back, Mr. President, with a sad heart upon the past, when I remember not only these two faithful ones, but others who have fallen, ere yet the great work to which we put our hands, a few years ago, seems to be half accomplished. When I first heard our brother Garison state and advocate the great principles on which the redemption of the enslaved in our country was to be attempted, they seemed to me so self-eridently true, they were so impressive, that I had not a doubt of their almost immediate acceptance when they should be made known. So simple was I in that day of Anti-Slavery infancy! In 1840, a dear friend, my step-mother, died. She had ever, however, I am sorry to say, been opposed to my espousal of the Anti-Slavery cause ; for though excellent in other respects, she was constitutionally conservative. I refer to her now, that I may mention a fact which I had forgetten for some time. Among her papers was one dated about ten years before the time when I found it, on which was recorded this simple prediction of mise: Our son, S. J. May, says that, in ten years from this time, the Anti-Slavery cause must be triumphast That was in 1840. How little did I foresee the trials to which this self-evident truth was to be subjected. ere it would be accepted by the people! Never shall I forget the joy of my heart when our fr iends, Pall-LIPS and QUINCY, came forth, with all their scademic honors upon them, and all their professional prospect before them, and laid themselves, and all they were and had, upon the altar of devotion to the slave. [Loud applause.] It seemed to me the harbinger of almost immediate triumph to our cause. But we toiled on, year after year, and still the mighty Bastile stood, apparently as firm as ever. Then came the men who are alluded to in these resolutions. And more especially Theodore Parker, of whom all that is here set forth may be said, and more, if language could be found to express it. A truer, purer, simpler more devout, devoted, fearless, loving man, have I never known. [Applause.] And yet, what have his labors, and all the labors of brother Browne, and d all who have come into this cause, effected? The nation is indeed aroused; the nation can never slumber again over this mighty wrong; -that is trut-The day of triumph must come, for there is a God, and there is a spark of Divinity in every human heart,

else man would not be man. [Applause.] And yel-

who is confident enough to prophesy when the hos

is to be? But let us not be discouraged. In grateful

memory of these devoted friends, in grateful memory

ry of the services rendered us by that man, especially,

whose memory is to live, and whose fame is to spread

wider and wider, and whose loving and burning

words are to be listened to by an ever-enlarging and.

ence throughout every part of those lands which

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re not perjured men, tre expired, and he took floor in reply. If the hed justice, they did not i establish a Democracy; examined for half an examined for half an by Mr. Poster in a very

hat the question be now new point, he said, had n by Mr. Poster. The discussions of the subend much on the subject had no reason to regard in principles and convic-ew party. rwhelmingly in favor of pices being raised in the

ARGENT, President Secretaries,

ROWNE, ESQ. AND E PARKER g at the Meloden ton by J. M. W. YERRINGO

APTERNOON, May 31. England Anti-Slave re utions presented by Mr. mt decease of John W DORE PARKER, [see pre-

y say, for myself, that, a single moment of the ed to other speakers; residing officer of this aspices, perhaps, could uitably and profitably he New England Anti e the tribute to be comur dear friend, it might spices of the Un on, or the wide world's or who more than he on of human rights? all places in this city of fitting place for our was here that he first of speech and the free-danfully and nobly sus-I am sure there are sember the stormy day, when he met here his ers, and here inaugubravely carried out. an, I have no rightth. Heaven knows to has been assigned to are to hear, this afendell Phillips, [apthe occasion.

MUEL J. MAY. N. Y., came forward ot detain you or the have to say. You g justly, from the lips hy of them and of the an offer. But I deem e pressed—those resoor any other of the ntry must feel, when . I look back, Mr. pon the past, when I eat work to which we rd our brother Garri t principles on which in our country was to me so self-evidently ceptance when they 1840, a dear friend, l ever, however, I am espousal of the Antilent in other respects, ative. I refer to her which I had forgotpapers was one dated when I found it, on prediction of mine : ten years from this nust be triumphant. id I foresee the trish was to be subjected, people! Never shall on our fr iends, Pull ith all their academi s, and all they were evotion to the slave. me the harbinger of our cause. But ill the mighty Bastile er. Then came the se res en, of whom all that

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speak our language-aye, and of all other lands in which there is anything like free thought-in grateful remembrance of his services, and as the best restimony we can give him of our gratitude and let us now, with renewed devotion, consecrate ourselves all the more to this great service, in the solema resolution that, crippled as we are by his remoemn resonator midst, yet, trusting in that God whom all from our midst, yet, trusting in that God whom he so nobly vindicated from the aspersions that a false neso non-theology has thrown upon him, and to the power of that truth which possesses, in itself, an influence which the stoutest, the most malignant, cannot forever withstand-let us, I say, resolve that, erippled as we are, we will nevertheless go on with increased determination, fighting this monster-wrong to its death.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq., Mr. Phillips, who was received with loud applause addressed the audience as follows :-

Mr. CHAIRMAN-You will not, of course, expect me, no one would be expected, to analyse a near friend in the very hour he dies. That would be a cold heart, fit only for a critic who, in the very hour that he lost one who had made a large share of his life, could hold him off, and take all his separate qualities to pieces, and paint them in words. We are near, we love too much, to perform such an office to each other. Now, at least, all we can do is to call up some few prominent traits that have been forced upon our observation as we walked side by side with one who have worked and lived with us. Very few of you knew that most efficient friend

gamed in the first resolution I have read ; yet, though hidden, he was no slight or trivial servant to the great cause. The purest of all human hearts,—but not, as is sometimes the case, with that rare and childlike sim plicity, a merely negative character; for he graduated Harvard in the same class, and was linked as a roommate and nearest and most intimate friend, with one whose intellect is the admiration of millions-our Senator, Mr. Sumner; (applause) and he was thought by many, indeed by most, of those who stood at the goal of collegiate reputation, the most original and lest intellect which that class gave to the world. In the bloom of youth, in the freshness of a rare success in his profession, he placed himself on this platform in the mob years of the anti-slavery enterprise, when to speak an anti-slavery word was starvation, when to hold up an anti-slavery banaer was political suicide. Yet, the most promising lawyer in the County of Essex, dowered with the love of the Whig party of that county, he came to this platform with that unconscious fidelity to truth which incapable of asking what is expedient. I remember well what checked his political advancement, and it suggests one of the great comforts in this life of a reformer. After all the seeming sacrifices (for they are only seeming) and the hard struggles which are said to mark our lives, we are the happiest of the human race, for God gives us this, the greatest of all rewards: As we move onward, society hanes itself according to our ideas; we see about us the growing proof, the ever fresh and green evidence that we were right ten years before. [Applause. Conservatism creeps on, discontented, distrustful, timid, thinking that when you have swept away the cobwebs, the roof is coming down, sighing for the good old times, anxious to hide in its grave from the in and wickedness it sees all about; but Reform walks onward, its buoyant forehead lit with the twilight of the coming day, and saying, 'All hail! my brother! I saw you in my dreams! Thank God that he gave me life long enough to see you set jocund foot on the misty mountain tops of the morrow. [Enthusiastic applause.] Now, this brave, dear brother, when he stood the pet of Essex, was asked, as the condition of another step of political advancement at the very threshold of his life, hardly graduated from college- Will you take the rship, and when there, will you pledge yourself to vote for Daniel Webster?" 'Never!' 'Then be no longer officer of ours." To-day, in sadness, with veiled face, every heart in Massachusetts acknowledges that the step which that young man rebuked by refusing to pledge himself in advance to its support, was a fatal mistake in the great statesman of New England. That instinctive sense of right which alone, and at the cost of being thought a fanatic and a madman, threw up life at the very threshold, at the bidding of duty, Massachusetts puts her seal upon it to-day, and says, 'Would to God that we had been as

Leaving politics, Mr. Browne, with his characteristic simplicity of character and unconsciousness of talent, deemed himself unfit for the tasks which others were ready to press upon him. He said to me once. I remember, when I urged him to come to this platform, and let us hear again the voice which had delighted us so often, 'I ought not to be there; there is nothing in me worthy to stand there: I am shamed away from such a post.' Yet the best judge in New England called him 'the most pregnant talker he ever met.' And never was a demand, of whatever character, made upon him, to which he did not respond with an alacrity and efficiency which showed how mistaken was his own judgment, and how much wiser he would have been to have yielded to our entreaties, and have led where he only consented to fol-

frank, and done as much, and turned away the bitter

years which closed the life of our great, our favorite

You who remember him so calm, self-poised, and still in manner, speaking in measured words, one by one, saw only half his nature. By constitution, his blood was lava, and his soul thundered and lightened at the sight of wrong, specially any meanly base act. Indeed, 'thunder and lightning' was the pet name he bore among his classmates. But, side by side with this volcano, stood, sleepless and watchful, the most delicate and scrupulous conscientiousness,-too delicate perhaps for daily life. When plunged, therefore. in our fierce agitation, he doubted whether he was justified, in the hot moments and floods of feeling which such contention let loose on his spirit. It seemed to him his duty, the best part and purest, to keep the waters of his life calm and still beneath the stars that looked into their depths. Such conviction however, never made him either an idler or a neutral. His flag was nailed to the mast-no man ever mistook his position. Beneath that flag was so high-souled and transparent a life that none could hate or doubt the bearer. His professional skill, the very best our Bar possessed, was freely given to every poor man. Never rich, his hand was ever open. No where did he fear the face of man; and, as much as our nature can, he surely kept a conscience void of offence towards his fellows, and a soul pure in the sight of God. Patient of labor, in that little heeded and hidden toil so indispensable to every reform he was ever ready. Many of us stood here dowered with the result of his toil, many of us brought to you hi ripe thoughts, which his own lip and his own life rould have given so much better; and when he fell, I, for one, felt lonelier and weaker in my place in this world and its battle. There are very few men so true to friendship, so loyal, so untiring, that you feel, in osing your eyes, 'I leave one behind me who will see that over my grave no malicious lie goes unrebuked, and that justice is done to my intentions.' I always felt that if Providence should take me first, there was a voice and a hand which twenty years of tried and stanch friendship would place as a shelter over my memory. Would to God I could do him to-day, half the justice that his sword would have leapt from its

scabbard to do for me! [Applause.]

Another friend is gone. Not gone! No, with us, aly standing on one step higher than he did. To such spirits, there is no death. In the old times, when men fought with spears, the warrior hurled his weapon into the thickest of the opposite host, and struggled to win its way to the confidence of the West by bebravely on, until he stood ever it and reclaimed it.

In the bloom of his youth, Theodore Parker flung his in his right hand, he always placed himself at our Mr. Parker, though strong in his convictions, was

struggled onward, and reached it to-day. (Profound the Empire. (Cheers.)
You may not think this great praise—we do. Other

Wail ye may full well for Scotland,

The trophies of Miltiades will not let me sleep.' He seemed to rebuke me even by the light that flashed from the window of his study. I have met him on and memory to foreign lands, and to my own country-

of three men. A faithful pulpit is enough for one pentance which Johnson describes: man. He filled it until the fulness of his ideas

'When nations, slowly wise and meanly just,

To buried merit raise the tardy bust.' overflowed into other channels. It was not enough. His diocese extended to the prairies. On every night The men who held their garments aside, and de of the week, those brave lips smothered bigotry, con-quered prejudice, and melted true hearts into his own ning to show symptoms that they will be glad, when n the banks of the Mississippi. This was enough the world doubts whether they have any life left, to for two men. But he said, 'I will bring to this altar say, 'Did not Parker spring from our bosom ?' Yes, of Reform a costlier offering yet; and he gathered the sheaf of all literature into his bosom, and came with author man's work, almost all the thoughts of all tional heart is still healthy and alive. Most of our ages and all tongues, as the background of his influence in behalf of the slave. He said, 'Let no super-graves, and we cover them up with apologies; we ficial scholarship presume to arraign Reform as arro-gant and empty fanaticism. I will overtop your can-throw the mantle over their defects, and say, 'Redidates with language and law, and show you, in member the temptation and the time! Now and all tongues, by arguments hoar with antiquity, the then one-now and then one-goes up silently, and liberty.' (Hearty applause.) Enough work for three ing, and takes it place, while all eyes follow it, and

that comes from a wisdom without them and above without a witness, for his children have been among them.' The fault of New England scholarship is us, and one half have known them by love, and on that it knows not its own use; that, as Bacon says, half have known them by hate-equal attestations to 'it settles in its fixed ways, and does not seek reforma- the divine life that has passed through our streets.' tion.' The praise of this scholar is, that, like the I wish I could say anything worthy; but he should great master of English philosophy, he was content to have done for us, with the words that never failed to light his torch at every man's candle. He was not be fitting, with that heart which was always ready came a Unitarian, with the blessings of Cambridge, were disappointed-he should have done for us what Men say he is a Unitarian no longer; but the manna, we vainly try to do for bim. Farewell, brave, strong when it was kept two days, bred maggots, and the friend and helper! little worms that run about on the surface of corruption call themselves the children and representatives of Channing. They are only the worms of the manna, and the pulpit of Federal street found its child at the Music Hall. [Loud applause.] God's lineage is not of blood. Brewster of Plymouth, if he stood here to-day, would not be in the Orthodox Church, counting on his anxious fingers the five points of Calvin. No; he would be shouldering a Sharpe's rifle in Kansas; fighting against the libels of Virginia, and hung on an American gibbet ;- for the child of Puritanism is not mere Calvinism; it is the loyalty to Justice which tramples under foot the wicked laws of ts own epoch. So Unitarianism (as far as

Old Lyman Beecher said, 'If you want to find the successor of St, Paul, seek him where you find the princes of Boston? Who did State street call a mad-

confess this spot, they explain that sales, circumstances as the half justification of that mistake, and they beg of us to remember that nothing but his own case. His (Mr. G.'s) reply was, 'I do not ers into her bosom the arrows which malice had shot sult of earnest devotion to the cause of truth, free

day of this month, I was to have been honored by judgment. standing in his desk, but illness prevented my fulfill-

dred dust of brave, classic Italy. the half-dozen mourners that he permitted to fol- of the human race; that every child of God, remarkable coincidence, for the only time during his faith in it; I accept it. But this I say, in respect to here read from his own hand-writing the text, 'Trest that any man calls himself a Methodist, or Baptist, o Gon.' It is said that, in his last hours, in the wan- Unitarian, or Universalist. These sectarian shibdering of that masterly brain, he murmured 'There boleths are easily taken upon the lip, especially when are two Theodore Parkers; one rests here, dying, but the "offence of the Cross" has ceased. thousands; at that very instant, his own words were (Applause.)

grew, when that lordly mammoth of the press, the in the face of an ungodly age, and against 'a frown-ing world.'

Mr. Garrison said they were there to honor his rison or I could utter, but bent low before the most thorough scholarship of New England, and was glad tion of him? By trying to be like him in nobility of

men have brought us brave hearts, other men have brought us keen-sighted and vigilant intellects, but How shall we group his qualities? The first that occurs to me is the tireless industry of that unresting brain, which never seemed to need leisure. When brought us a disciplined intellect, whose statement ome engagement brought me home in the small was evidence, and whose affirmation the most gifted hours of the morning, many and many a time have I student took long time before he ventured to doubt of looked out, (my own window commands those of his to contradict. When we had nothing but our chastudy,) and seen that unquenched light burning—that unflagging student ever at work. Half curious, half our weapons, the man who could give to the cause of ashamed, I lay down, saying with the Athenian, the slave that weapon was indeed one of its ablest

the cars deep in some strange tongue, or hiving up knowledge to protect the weak and hated of his own city. Neither on the journey nor at home did his spirit need to rest.

I have met him on mand memory to loreign lands, and to my own countrymen, after some time be passed.' No more fitting words could be chosen, if the modesty of the friend who has just gone before us would have permitted him to adopt them for himself. To-day, even within Why is he dead? Because he took up the burden twenty-four hours, I have seen symptoms of that re-

ess and inevitable necessity of justice and yet not unannounced, like the stars at their com o do; and he sunk under the burden!

say, 'Thank God! It is the promise and the herald!

Lord Bacon says, 'Studies teach not their own use; It is the nation alive at its heart. God has not left us ashamed to learn. When he started in the pulpit, he with that eloquence which you never waited for and

'Sleep in peace with kindred ashes Of the noble and the true; Hands that never failed their country, Hearts that baseness never knew! Prolonged applause.]

more expressive than speech.

REMARKS OF WM. LLOYD GARRISON. Mr. Garrison said he felt impelled to utter a few unpremeditated words in support of the resolution offered by Mr. Phillips, respecting the removal of his beloved and endeared friend, THEODORE PARKER; and the Independent and Observer; preaching treason in yet, when all hearts were full, almost to bursting, in view of this great bereavement, the most eloquen words seemed poor and common-place. Silence wa

His estimate of Mr. Parker was an exalted one it has any worth) is not standing in the same pulpit, He regarded him as one of the most remarkable men or muttering the same shibboleth; it is, like Channing, looking into the face of a national sin, and, with ly attainments, and his power to acquire knowledge lips touched like Isaiah's, finding it impossible not to in all its varied forms, which he dispensed with un launch at it the thunderbolt of God's rebuke. [Apvation of his race. He felt very sad at Mr. P's de parture, which he regarded as premature, the resul of overtasking his bodily powers, though for the no same objections made to a preacher that were made blest ends. He thought his friend, Mr. Phillipp to St. Paul.' Who won the hatred of the merchant needed to be admonished, rather than stimulated to more protracted labors, by that light which he so of man? The fanatic of Federal street in 1837. Who, ten saw in Mr. Parker's study, at the sacrifice of with unerring instinct, did that same herd of mer-needed rest. It was not an example to be imitated chant princes hate, with instinctive certainty that, in order that their craft should be safe, they ought to hate him? The Apostle of Music Hall. That is When some Americans die-when most Americans such unremitted studies and labors, he was surely had he warned him, with all earnestness, that, by die-their friends tire the public with excuses. They confess this spot, they explain that stain, they plead But Mr. P. was wont playfully, yet confidently, to regood is to be spoken of the dead. We need no such doubt that your great-grandfather, and grandfather, mantle for that green grave under the sky of Flor-and father, were amply endowed with brains; but explanations-no spot. Priestly they never used them as you are tasking yo malice has scanned every inch of his garment;—it you must be more careful, or the penalty will come.'
was scanness; it could find no stain. History, as in
Nevertheless, if Mr. P. had fallen thus prematurely, the case of every other of her beloved children, gath-it was a rich consolation to know that it was the re-

at him, and says to posterity, 'Behold the title-deeds dom, and humanity, and a very noble sacrifice indeed. to your gratitude!' [Applause.] We ask no moment Mr. G. referred to the mental independence and to excuse, there is nothing to explain. What the moral courage which characterised Mr. Parker, in resnarling journal thought bold, what the selfish politician feared as his ruin—it was God's seal set upon technically, 'a Garrisonian Abolitionist,' though ofhis apostleship. The little libel glanced across him ten upon that platform, but voted with the Republican like the rocket when it goes over the vault; it is party, though faithfully rebuking it for its timidity passed, and the royal sun shines out as beneficent as ever. [Applause.] ever. [Applause.]

When I returned from New York on the twelfth bravely, conscientiously, and according to his best

But, what of his theology? Mr. G. did not know ing the appointment. It was cleven o'clock in the that he could state the whole of Mr. P.'s creed, but morning. As he sank away the same week, under the he remembered a part of it:—There is one God and fair sky of Italy, he said to the most loving of wives Father over all, absolute and immutable, whose love and of nurses, 'Let me be buried where I fall'; and therefore inexhaustible, and whose tenderly, thoughtfully, she selected four o'clock of tender mercies are over all the works of his hand; and that same Sunday to mingle his dust with the kin- whether in the body, or out of the body, the farthest wanderer from the fold might yet have hope. He be-Four o'clock! The same sun that looked upon lieved in the continual progress and final redemption low him to the grave, that same moment of bright- ever erring, would ultimately be brought back. 'You ness lighted up the arches of his own Temple, as one may quarrel with that theology,' said Mr. Garrison, whom he loved stepped into his own desk, and with 'if you please; I shall not. I like it; I have great absence, opened one of his own sermons to supply my place; and as his friend read the Beatitudes over his grave on the banks of the Arno, his dearer friend I make them a test of character. It is nothing to me the other lives, and is at work at home.' How true! will, with his theology, grind out the best grist for at that very moment, he was speaking to his usual our common humanity, is the best theologian for me.

sinking down into the hearts of those that loved him Many years ago, Thomas Jefferson uttered a senti best, and bidding them, in this, the loneliest hour of their bereavement, 'Trust God.'

He always came to this platform. He is an old he, 'whether my neighbor believes in one God or in the control of t occupant of it. He never made an apology for com- twenty gods, if he does not pick my pocket.' Thus ing to it. I remember many years ago, going going to the root of absolute justice and morality, home from the very hall which formerly occupied and obviously meaning this: If a man pick my this place. He had sat where you sit, in the seats, pocket, it is in vain he tells me, in palliation of his looking up to us. It had been a stormy, hard gather- crime, 'I am a believer in one living and true God.' ing—a close fight; the press calumniating us; every That may be, but you are a pickpocket, neverthless. journal in Boston ridiculing the idea which we were Or he may say, 'I have not only one God, but endeavoring to spread. As I passed down the stairs twenty gods; therefore, I am not guilty.' Nay, but homeward, he put his arm within mine, and said, you are a thief! And so we always throw ourselves You shall never need to ask me again to share that back upon character—upon the fact whether a man platform.' (Applause.) It was the instinct of his is honest, just, long-suffering, merciful; and not nature, true as the bravest heart. The spot for him whether he believes in a denominational creed, or is was where the battle was hottest. He had come, as a strict observer of rites and ceremonies. This was half the clergy come-a critic. He felt it was not the religion of Theodore Parker-always exerting his his place; that it was to grapple with the tiger, and throttle him. And the pledge that he made he kept; bless those who needed a blessing, to seek and to for, whether here or in New York, as his reputation save the lost, to bear testimony in favor of the right,

even by the lowliest. Mr. Phillips had done him no merely with the concentration of certain faculties, for more than justice when he said, that he was willing the sake of working out a certain problem, and there and eager to obtain instruction from any quarter. an end of it; or merely to gather together certain Hence, he was always inquiring of those with things and put them into his brain, and there an end whom he came in contact, so that he might learn, if of it. No; he had a great idea before him all the possible, something from them that might aid him in time, and his study was always instinct with the life

up for discussion, like multitudes of others, Mr. Par- from him as fresh, glowing thoughts,-full of love to ker was inclined to treat it facetiously, and supposed it could be put aside with a smile. Still, it was his Not to dwell on that, I say he was great, very disposition to hear and to learn; and as soon as he began to investigate, and to see the grandeur and world-wide importance of the Woman's Rights movement, he gave to it his hearty support before the Eternal, at the same time that he worked with all

from time to time, driven out by the edicts of Euro-pean despotism! What a home was Theodore Par-last time, he told me of a long conversation which he ker's for them! How they have loved to gather had with a scholar at Oxford, I think, or Cambridge, around him in that home, and what a sympathizing who had lived for nothing but to study Aristotle; friend, and trusty adviser, and generous assistant, in that was his business in the world-to know all about

and faculties paralyzed? Is he now in inglorious which he had packed away ready for use.

rest? Or is he not, rather, more than ever before,

Now, with regard to the second thing which goes alive, and beneficently at work? Is it a dream, a fic- to make a man great. What was Parker's way of tion of the brain, to believe that he really lives, and action? It was a grand way of action. His activity occupies a nobler and wider sphere, and that he will was as large, determined, persistent, complete and find a nobler and grander work to perform than he thorough, as his intellectual working was. What he has been able to do here? I believe in immortal life, did was on a plan reaching through years-on a plan not come within the scope of these, - but I feel it in mapped out before him, with all he meant to do each every fibre and nerve of my system, in every drop of year previously arranged, and the reason for it fixed my blood, in the very instincts, necessities and desires in his own mind; and then he went to his work and of my nature.

'The soul, secure in her existence, smiles At the drawn dagger, and defies its point.'

This thought, in view of any mortal bereavement however great, fills the soul with complete satisfaction, and inspires it with a new life.

'God calls our loved ones, but we lose not wholly
What He hath given;
They live on earth, in thought and deed, as truly
As in His heaven.'

mankind, his great thoughts and noble deeds, and they are imperishable. They have touched and quick-needed to be raised, or a class, a race, or a nation, ened millions of minds already, and shall enlighten that needed to be lifted up, there he felt his work to and inspire millions yet unborn; and so, going down be. On that point I say no more, because it is the through the ages, they shall be a power to redeem least necessary to speak of his work, since that is

As for his reputation, so bitterly assailed and ma- But there is one other element of greatness in man iciously traduced while he lived, time will render it Besides the head and the hand, there is the heart What was the greatness of heart in Theodore Parker nore and more illustrious. As for the stigmas cast upon him by narrow-minded bigots, and canting hy- His habit was in speaking of the Almighty, not to pocrites, and craven time-servers, and cold-blooded call Him the Almighty. He spoke of the 'Absolute conservatives, these are to give place to the plaudits Father,' in his philosophy and in his theology; but of a discerning and an appreciating posterity. Thus when he came to speak of Him from the pulpit, as it is that they who are willing to bear the cross are Christian man speaking to Christian men, as a brother permitted, in God's good time, to wear the crown!

For truth doth conquer at the last; So round and round we run; And ever the right comes uppermost, And ever is justice done!

When I was asked if I also would say something and domineering, because, in all the private relations here, I felt as our friend Wendell Phillips felt, and of life, he was as docile as a child to the touch of as our friend Mr. Garrison also felt, that this was not love, and it was only necessary, if you had any fault time in which we could speak words which should to find with anything that he had said or done, to go analyze or describe the character of the man whose to him and tell him just what your complaint was, or loss was filling our hearts with a sense of inexpres- what your difficulty was, and just as likely as not sible grief; but, having heard them speak, some he would at once admit, if there was the least reason

We all have a feeling that Theodore Parker was his stand for the everlasting right. Let me tell you the ripe and precious fruit of our New England soil, a little anecdote in this connection. I recollect that, of our New England stock, of our New England a year or two ago, I saw Parker at an evening party, mind, of our New England institutions. A better where he was talking with a lady, and I went up to specimen of a full-grown, manly and womanly New them and said, 'May I hear what you are say these old gray rocks of Yankee land. [Applause.] said 'Yes. I was telling this lady a little incident How was he great? There are three directions in connected with my school-teaching, when I taught which a man may be great, and he was great in all a school in Watertown. I did not often punish three. There is the direction of the intellect. There the boys, but I kept a ruler, and I had not deare great thinkers; there are men who make them- termined not to punish them; but, on the other hand selves into a thinking machine; there are men who if it was necessary, I meant to punish. One day make themselves into a studying machine-who fill there was a boy,-a good boy he was, usually,themselves full of all thoughts and all knowledges, who had done something wrong, as boys do, and I and stop there. THEODORE PARKER had all the power said to him, "Don't do that again," -and he did it of study that any of the hardest and ripest German again; and I said, "Don't do that again, or I shall students, who live for nothing but study, have had; punish you,"—and he did it again; and I said, "Stop but he had a great deal more. When he came back after school." The boy stopped after school, and I from his first journey to Europe, talking with me of called him to me. He came up with his face a little the men whom he had seen in Germany, he said he pale and anxious, as though he was expecting punwent to see old Baur at Tubingen, and asked him ishment. I said to him, "Why did you do how many hours he studied. He replied, 'Only Fred?" He said, "I don't know, sir;" and as I eighteen hours'; but Baur was a student, and noth- looked at him, I saw the sweet face of his sister in his ing but a student. Parker had studied his ten, features, and it seemed to me that if I struck him, it twelve, and, for aught I know, his eighteen hours a would be like striking a girl, and I could not do it day; but yet, all that was merely the beginning of So I said to him, "Will you do that again, if I let what he was going to do with himself-merely the you off this time?" He said, "I will try not to outside preparation for his after work. I remember sir," and he ran down the stairs. As I heard him meeting him on the cars on that fatal winter which running down, I said to myself, " Did I do wrong in laid the foundation of the disease which took him not punishing him, or did I do wrong in saying that away. He had a carpet-bag with him, filled with I would punish him? Well," said I, "however that German, Greek, and Latin books-those old books, may be, this I know, I never can punish a boy after vellum, of the seventeenth century - volumes this, for if I do, I shall say to myself, the reason is which it is a pain merely to look at, so hard reading do they seem to be. On Monday morning, he says Parker, 'I never punished a boy after that; and, filled his carpet-bag, and went to the place where when I was on the School Committee, in the town of he was to lecture Monday night; all day long he Roxbury, (which then reached all the way out to studied his books, and at night delivered his lecture. Dedham,) I got them to adopt a rule, that no child Then on Tuesday he would go to the next place, should ever be punished without the teacher's mak-So he would go to the next place, studying his books all day, and lecturing at night. So he would go on through the week, until Friday, when he would be back again to Boston, with his carpet-bag exhausted, with every one of those books and I, "we can know what the ostensible reason is, gutted of its contents, with the whole substance of but we cannot be sure what is the real reason. Perthem in his brain, so that he knew all about every haps the reason may be that the man was out late the one of them, and could give a perfect analysis of them all, from beginning to end. On Saturday morn- (I said to myself, not to them) the real reason may be ing he would sit down to write his sermon for the that the boy has not got a pretty sister." ' (Laughter. next day; on Saturday afternoon go and visit the When Theodore Parker was about going away sick and bereaved of his society; on Sunday morn- and I went to see him for the last time, he followed ing preach his sermon, and in the afternoon drive out me to the door of his study, and, putting his hand Watertown and preach there; and on Sunday on my shoulders, he kissed my cheek, and said evening he would lie on the sofa, and talk to his 'James, if you and I never meet again in this world ter, only yesterday, from William H. Channing, an has been between us one word, or one feeling, or one old friend of his, who, speaking in the most tender action, of unkindness.' In the Old World, you will and affectionate terms of his departure, said that he see men who carry in their button-hole a red ribbon-had, by over-working the intellectual part of his fac-the sign that they belong to the Legion of Honor. ulties, by too great fidelity in study, killed out, to As long as I live, I shall carry (not apparent to others some extent, another masterly faculty, which he but known to myself) the mark of that tender, fra had observed, but of which those who did not know ternal kiss on my cheek. It is to me the sign of behim might be ignorant—namely, his gorgeous imaging to the Legion of Honor. (Applause.)

I do not know how to describe—with what figure, had, with all this logical power, with all those reflective faculties, with all those immense powers of how Parker seems to me, in all this varied and acgrasp and reception,—the powers by which he held on to and retained what he had learned, and the better than by telling you the incidents of one day

heart forward at the feet of the Eternal; he has only side, and in the midst of us, in the capital State of struggled onward, and reached it to-day. (Profound the Empire. (Cheers.) When the question of Woman's Rights first came word, and all the thoughts that came from him, came

> those other intellectual powers which gathered to-How he will be missed by those noble but unfortu-gether what God has sown broadcast over the earth, sate exiles who come to Boston from the old world, and by which he matured them for ripe and present their times of sore distress, they have found in him! Aristotle; and Parker said that he discussed with There are many such in Boston, and in various parts him, through a whole summer day, Aristotle. When of our country, who have fled from foreign oppres- they had exhausted that subject, Parker asked him if sion, who will hear of his death with great sorrow of he knew anything about Plsto. He said, 'I have heart, and drop grateful tears to his memory.
>
> Mr. President, our beloved friend and coadjutor has seen 'the last of earth.' We never shall behold his and taught him all he did not know about Plato. face again in the flesh. We shall never again hear That is but a little part of Parker's knowledge, of the music of his voice, nor be inspired by his bodily which not one in ten thousand ever heard; and it is presence. But is he dead? Are his great powers a specimen of the quantity and kind of knowledge

-not as a matter of logic or of metaphysics, for it does arranged when he was a boy; the whole of his life did it-lived to accomplish it. But what sort of work was it? Greatness in work considers the quality of the work as well as the amount and the method of accomplishing it. What was the quality of his work? It was simply this: it was to lift man toward God. That was the work which Parker gave himself to do in the world. That was the work for which he gathered together all this knowledge, that the work for which he so trained his intellect to be scute, persistent and comprehensive. It was to raise man t Our departed friend has left with us, and with God. With his eye on God, he turned to man to patent and known to all.

talking to brethren and sisters of what they needed it was 'Father' and 'Mother'-'the Great Father and Mother of us all.' The tender, feminine heart of Theodore Parker was not satisfied with the name of 'Father,' unless he united with it that of 'Mother. So tender was he, so affectionate was he, that no one SPEECH OF REV. J. FREEMAN CLARKE. was ever near to Parker as a friend, as an intimate Rev. James Freeman Clarke was the next speaker. companion, without wondering how it was that men de said: thoughts have come to me which I would, like to in the complaint, that he was wrong. He was a ready to admit himself in the wrong as to maintain England mind, heart and hand, has never ripened on ing, as I happen to know you both so well? He siring the Recipe, with full instructions, directions

That was his way of working. I got a let- we have the happiness of knowing that there never

powers by which he brought them into one great of my life. When I was passing out of Italy once, system, in order to set them before men—with all this, he had the imagination of a poet, but did not let it work, he was so busy studying all the time.

Now, there were other students along with him when he was a boy, and I have known a great many yards. Then we began the ascent of the mountain,

we came to the snow. Then we took the little sleds, and went on upon the snow, higher and higher, until we were surrounded with great fields of snow, daz-zling white in the sun; and on one side we saw the fall of a terrible avalanche, with its roar of thunder. So we passed on, until we reached the summit of the mountain, and then, descending on the other side, we came at last to where again the snow ceased, and there, taking the diligence, we went on our way down the side of the mountain, through gorges and ravines, and glaciers even, the country around growing more and more green, changing from spring to summer, until at last, when we came down toward the Lake of Lucerne, we passed through orchards full of appleblossoms, and finally crossed the beautiful lake to the town of Lucerne, there to receive a whole bundle of letters from home-from father, mother, brother, sister, and child to end the day. When I think of that day's journey, beginning in Italy and ending in Germany, beginning under an Italian sun, at midday, surrounded by snow-fields and glaciers, and at its close amid the apple-blossoms of Germany, it seems to me that that varied and wonderful day is a sort of type of the life of our friend THEODORE PARKER;its youth Italian-all fresh and gushing with ten thousand springs of early, bovish life and hope and animation, and with all the varied study and activity of the child and the youth; its early morning pass in the stern work of climbing up the mountain its midday, with God's everlasting sun over his head, and the great, broad fields all around, over which his eye looked; and all through its afternoon hours, passing on into an ever-increasing affluence of spring and summer, and ending at last in the sweet bosom of affection, gratitude and love. (Applause.)

How shall we miss him! The days are to come when we shall know how we miss him. When that great hall stands closed and silent on the Lord's day, -empty and silent, because there is no one here who has the commanding ability which can bring together those great multitudes Sunday after Sunday, month after month, and year after year, to be taught and fed,—when great crises of the nation come, and pass unexamined, and not understood, because that great masterly power of analysis is taken from us,-when great national crimes are repeated again and again, and not rebuked to the listening ear of the nation, because there is no great power of intellect and knowledge adequate to that work-then we shall remember and feel and mourn the loss of THEODORE PARKER.

The President, Rev. JOHN T. SARGENT, said a few

words in reference to Mr. Parker's ministration among the poor of the city, and the deep interest he felt in every effort for the relief of the 'Perishing Classes,' after which the question was put on the res olutions, and they were unanimously adopted.

ANNIVERSARY WEEK.

The proceedings of the New England Anti-Slavers Convention occupy so large a portion of our present number as to preclude all comments upon it, further than to say, that its opening session was thronged beyond all precedent, and every succeeding one evincing a lively and growing interest in the Anti-Slavery struggle. We publish entire the speeches made with reference to the death of Theodore Parker-a death which has caused a profound sensation of grief throughout the North, and elicited many warm tributes to his character-in some instances, even from Orthodox pulpits. On Thursday evening, the Melodeon was excessively crowded to hear Rev. George B. Cheever, F. B. Sanborn, Samuel E. Sewall, Esq. and Wendell Phillips, Esq. in burning condemnati the iniquitous imprisonment of Thaddeus Hyatt at Washington. It was a powerful demonstration.

'The Women's Rights meetings at the Melodeon, on Priday afternoon and evening, were largely attended, and produced a most favorable impression

A CARD-The subscriber, a practical Chemst and Manufacturer of Chemical Preparations, French Cosmetics, Fine Perfumes, &c., for the past eventeen years, now offers (free of charge) to all who desire it, the Recipe and directions for making a simple Vegetable Balm, that will, in from two to eight lays, remove Pimples, Blotches, Tan, Freckles, Salowness, and all impurities and roughness of the Skin leaving the same-as Nature intended it should besoft, clear, smooth and beautiful. This is no humbur or catch-penny affair, and those who think it suc and advice, will please call on or address (with return JAS. S. MARSHALL. postage).

Practical Chemist, No. 32 City Buildings, New York.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. Collections by Parker Pillsbury. In April-Worcester South Division A. S. So-

ciety, In April—At South Danvers,

Collections by Marius R. Robinson, Ohio. 7 50 Stephen Goss and wife, South Natick, donation, 3 00 Elliot W. Brown, Executor—a bequest of Squire Stone, of West Newark, Tioga Co., N. Y., 8 37 Collections by Wm. H. Fish, Cortland Co., ** 9 68 FRANCIS JACKSON, Treasurer.

REFORMERS' CONVENTION.

The Friends of Human Progress will meet in De Witt, Clinton county, Iowa, June 15th, and hold over Sunday.

The object of the meeting will be, to form a better capuaintance among the friends of general reform—
inspire each other with greater devotion to the cause of human liberty, and to devise the best meth-

od by which all questions appertaining to Religion and Humanity may be freely discussed, and the claims of sound merality practically saforced. In behalf of the Committee of Arrangements,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON will lecture in Quincy, in the Town Hall, on Sunday next, June 10, afternoon and evening, at 2 and 6 o'clock.

CAPE COD.-WM. WELLS BROWN will speak at the Union Hall, Harwich, on Sunday, June 10, during the day, and at the Centre in the evening. He will spend ten days in other places on the Cape. HENRY C. WRIGHT will lecture in the lower Town Hall, in Andover, Sunday, June 10, and in Milford, Mass., Sunday, June 17.

TO THE FRIENDS OF FUGITIVE SLAVES. Places are wanted for two lads from the great Southern prison-house of slavery, one 15 and the other 17 years of age. They have been house servants, but are willing and ready to go on trial to do any kind of work they are able to do. Apply to R. P. WALL-CUT, 221 Washington Street, or by letter to FRAN-CIS JACKSON, Boston.

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BOATS, &c., with many other interesting Pictures of the latest incidents of the week. Can be had at all the News Agents throughout the country. Now is the time to send your subscriptions; \$3 a year.

J. WARNER CAMPBELL & CO., 63 Ann Street, New York.

For the Liberator. THADDEUS HYATT, Captive in the Cause of Freedom, BY JUDITIL.

Is it a land of Liberty? Is it a land of generous thought, Where the will of manhood is not fre And the voice of the people is sold and bought? How shall we be miscalled the free, When the voice of the people is sold and bought?

Aye; the voice of the people is bought and sold; Bartered away by political guile; Purchased with office, and power, and gold; Won by the Demagegue's oily smile; And the Truth grows cold, and Falsehood bold, Beneath the Demagogue's oily smile.

Else why do they keep in a loathsome jail A man accused of no wrong or clime? Why do they keep him a prisoner pale, Watching and waiting for God's good time i-A prisoner pale, who doth not quail, But watcheth and waiteth for God's good time ! What hath he done, that a nation's might

Should trample him out like a worm of vice? He hath only stood for a popular right, And offered himself in sacrifice: He hath made this fight for a popular right, And given himself in sacrifice!

Can break these bonds of a tyrant sway? Must Thaddeus Hyatt surrender the truth, Or waste in prison his life away? He must vield, in sooth, a well-known truth, Or waste in prison his life away! Where is your Constitution now?

And is there no court, whose justice and ruth

Where are your boasted equal laws, When 'culprit' is stamped upon manhood's brow, Without a crime, and without a cause -When the citizen's brow is made to bow, Without a crime, and without a cause

Ah! far more bitter the Demagogue's rule, Than the sway of a crowned and sceptred thing 'Tis worse to bend to the knave and fool, Than to kneel in the path of a noble King: The flerce misrule of the knave and fool Is worse than the reign of a noble King!

Ye haughty Senators, cunning and gray, Who spread so slily your cruel snare, There's a Senate will meet upon Judgment-day; And God, and your captive, will both be there! What will ye say, upon Judgment day, When God, and your captive, confront you there? Washington, (D. C.) May 30, 1860.

> For the Liberator. MY SABBATH. I wandered, one bright May morning, Where I knew that the violets grew, And where, through the pine's dark foliage,

The sky looks strangely blue. It was a Sabbath morning : Will any count it sin, In a forest rather than a church. The day of rest to begin ?

To read one's self the sermon That is written on flower-gemm'd sod ; And to list to the bright-winged warblers Who forever worship God?

I heard the church-bells tolling The hour for morning prayer, And I thought how many would wander Through scenes so wondrous fair ;

And their hearts be not lifted heavenward. So dull their sense and dim, Till the preacher says, 'Let us worship God

In the use of a certain hymn.' Honest, perhaps, and from the heart, The worship such would give; But, methinks, 'twould teach one how to die,

Rather than fit to live. Oh ! it is not solemn faces. Nor spoken words of prayer,

That fit us for life's duties, Earth's joys and griefs to bear.

Thus I mused as I sat there, listening To the song of birds and bees, And the music of the soft South wind, As it murmured through the trees.

And homeward at length returning, Through fields of springing corn, I knew that not in vain I'd spent That glorious Sabbath morn.

For I'd read from the book of Nature A lesson of love for all : How our kind Heavenly Father Careth for great and small. And, heedless of their frowning, Who met me on my way, I wondered if they felt like me. How holy was the day.

E. D. Morse. Sherborn, May 27.

For the Liberator THEODORE PARKER. Mid Italia's sweetest flowers, And her soft, cerulean sky, Freedom's noble son has faller Breathed his last expiring sigh. Nature weeps her favorite fallen ; He was one that loved her well; But the heart's unspoken sorrow Language has not words to tell. Man will miss him, and will vainly

Seek another friend as brave ; Woman, too, will mourn the teacher That her noblest lessons gave. With the Wrong he battled ever,

For the Right he loved to plead : And his life was a rich blessing Unto thousands in their need All the world will pay him honor.

And will write his loving name High amid the many, chiseled In the temple of its fame. Of her PARKER, fair New England

Shall be proud forever-more; And his fame back shall be echoed From the farthest land and snore.

He is ours, although his body Sleeps in quiet far away: Hovering round us is his spirit, While we labor day by day.

May our lives be ever patterned After his who's gone before, And the world be better for us. When our missions shall be o'er!

Manchester, May, 1860. THE RIGHT MUST WIN. O, blest is he to whom is given

That God is on the field when He Is most invisible! And blest is he who can divine Where real right doth lie, And dares to take the side that seems Wrong to man's blindfold eye!

The instinct that can tell

SELECTIONS.

From the New York Principia LETTER OF GERRIT SMITH.

[The first he has written since his sickness. His health of body and brain restored. Treatment of him by the New York Democratic Vigilant Association.

PETEREORO', May 1st, 1860. WILLIAM GOODELL, Editor of Principia:

I have been

Since the sad day its master chord was broken. Why do I write my first letter to you? First, because through you I can best answer the deeply earnest inquiries respecting my health—its loss and recovery—made more frequently by persons of the class who read your paper, than by persons of other classes. Second, because I prefer that my first communication in this my resurrection state, when more than ever I prize the true religion, should be with these who give the best evidences of prossessing. classes. Second, because I prefer that my first communication in this my resurrection state, when more than ever I prize the true religion, should be with those who give the best evidences of possessing it. I do not forget that many of them, even your good self included, think him to be a very poor judge of what constitutes the true religion, who is so ignorant of the importance of questions on depravity, future punishment, and the atonement, as to put them all entirely outside of the essence of that religion. I do not forget that in the eye of such he is blind to the true religion, who dares to doubt the Divine inspiration of parts of the Bible; refuses to accept the claims of absolute authority, which are set up for it; insists that, instead of the final trial human nature is itself the final authority by which to try the Bible; and who says, in terms so plain as to shock the prevailing religious sense, that even this book, immeasurably best of all books though it be, is good or bad, right or wrong, so far and only so far as it agrees or disagrees with human na-ture. You might perhaps consent that love—love in the heart to God and man—illustrated by such love in the life, makes up the whole of the essence of the true religion. But you would add what I

But not to mind now what is thought of my own But not to mind now what is thought of my own religion—it is in my very high regard for the religion—it is in my very high regard for the religion of yourself and those whom I have been classing with you, that I find a strong reason for choosing yourself as the proper person to whom to address this letter. Jesus would have even himself judged by his works. He requires us to judge each other by our works. Your works approve your religion; and therefore do I approve it—and none the ligion; and therefore do I approve it—and none the other by our works. Your works approve your re-ligion; and therefore do I approve it—and none the less promptly and cordially, because I have to disn some of your religious theories and specu-There are many men, very religious in whose works nevertheless do not com-religion. I think this is true of the State Temperance Society men, who are How sad are the effects of the popular prejudices their way, whose works nevertheless do not commend their religion. I think this is true of the New York State Temperance Society men, who are found on one day gravely resolving that it is a high crime to license dram-shops, and on the next eagerly voting for dram-shop magistrates and legislators. I think that this would be true of those who should the control of the scholars, whose deaths at their homes the newspapers ascribe to 'brain fever,' would be cured, if their families could brave the control of the scholars are their homes the newspapers ascribe to 'brain fever,' would be cured, if their families could brave the shavery to be law. Were Jesus again on the earth, who would, instead of praising magistrates and legislators for replunging the fugitive slave into the horrid pit of slavery, and instead of praising the voters, who voted them into office, be far more likely to say to them all: 'Ye do the deeds of your father.' Moreover, it would be all the same whether they should or should not put in the plea of Constitution—large they recessive. This consents in his Cause and especially with those whose hallusing the processive. This consents in his Cause the same whether they should or should not put in the plea of Constitution—and especially with those whose hallusing the processive.

usual incessant labor. They say that, under my bodily diseases, I should have given up my extensive bodily diseases, I should have given up my extensive correspondence, writing for the press, public speaking, and the care of a large landed estate. It is, by the way, something to my credit, that I so far favored my feeble health as not once in all the year 1859 to go from home to a public meeting. I readily admit that I am not blameless for having been the subject of these diseases. In respect to them, Jesus could not say of me: 'Neither hath this man sinned nor his parents.' I confess myself guity 51 having sinfully violated the laws of one of the best constitutions ever given to man. I have overworked myself. Forgetting that human powers have limits, I forgot to think that I could not do all that I wished to do. But in a world where there is so much to do that few are found willing to do, it is not always easy to resist the temptation to overdo.

if it were made of cead, and now as if it were made of cead, and now as if it were made of cork—were among the products of this sympathy. Never did I suffer so much in this wise as when I went to Congress. I did not venture to take my seat the first week; and when, him, and were for days in consultation with him.' a few days after taking it. I rose to make my first ech, I was painfully uncertain whether I should be head enough to make head-way. My friend, Dr. Jones, of Onondaga, was in the same Congress. not ascribe so much influence to that bad sheet. It was so was when I had read the manifesto, already referred afraid of falling in the streets as not to dare to walk them without carrying my name and other infor-mation in my hat, his quick and witty reply was: Such things in your hat are of themselves enough to ings in your hat are of themselves enough to

make you fall.'

I always was alarmed enough and prudent enough to reduce the labors of my brain in the times of these admonitory sensations. I did so when in Conthese admonitory sensations. I did so when in Congress; and to this cause among others was it owing, that I was so much more of a talking than thinking member. But the dyspepsia, which began in the Fall of 1858 and continued a year, was attended by none of these sensations, and therefore by none of the admonitions involved in them. Palpitation of heart, of which I had hitherto experienced nothing, was its incessant companion and chief signal. My head folt well and my brain worked see. Dr. Gray, the Superintendent of the Asylum, be-lieves that even in the first half of the year 1859, I had come into that stage or character of insanity called 'exaltation of the mind.' I never read, studied nor wrote with more pleasure. To speak plainly. I had never so much c ers, and was never so egotistical. I boasted that I could do more than at the age of forty. This being the condition of my brain, it is not at all strange that, although, as my nurse believes, I slept but three hours a night, during most of that year, (less than an average of one hour a night during the last three weeks before I was removed to the Asylum,) it should not occur to me that so serious an injury as the loss of my reason would be the penalty for continuing the customary use of my brain. What, though even in warm summer nights, I frequently could not fall asleep until my cold feet had been rubbed and bottles of hot water applied to them,

rubbed and bottles of hot water applied to them, nevertheless I was in too intoxicated and happy a state to forbode evil to myself. Why the dyspepsia of 1858 and 1859 affected my heart and produced no uncomfortable sensations in my head, I am not capable of explaining. Physicians can perhaps explain it, when they learn that, for nine months before it began, I had more or less of dropsy; that for two or three months before the dropsy, I had typhoid fever, and most distressful neuralgia in the head, and that, intermediately, I suffered greatly from derangement of the kidneys.

A false alarm, one morning, whilst it did but disquiet the other members of my family, quite overcame me. The news, a few weeks after, of the death of my old and dear friend, John Brown, and his two sons, was a great shock to me. It contributed no little to hasten my condition to its crisis. Only three weeks after, I went down under a troop of hallucinations. My family were reduced to poverty. They were east off by their friends and the world. Those, who had put their property into my hands, had lest it. Leas a state of the formation of the state of the property into my hands, had lest it. Leas a state of the formation of the state of the manifesto alluded to.]

The manifesto alluded to.]

The manifesto then proceeds to give, not with end the whole of another. Standing by themselves, and the world in the correctness, parts of one of my letters, and the whole of another. Standing by themselves, there is nothing in these letters to arouse suspicious against me. But, if interpreted in the light of the foregoing extract from the manifesto, as they necessarily must be, if my name is there justly used, how can my virtual and responsible participation in the Harper's ferry outbreak be doubted? Moreover, if this extract speaks but truth, how could it be expected that the courts would characterize that outbreak with less than treason and murder? Why, then, was I not, at the time of the issuing of the manifesto, proceeded against, by the courts, or b They were east off by their friends and the world. Those, who had put their property into my hands, had lost it. I was bound in honor and justice to go to Virginia, and stand by and suffer with my unfortunate friend. Indeed, it was only from believing that I was on my way to Virginia, that I went so willingly to Utica. The idea, however, say my lamily, and my own memory says it also, which most haunted and distressed me, was that my friend and relatives in the South believed that I had plotted their murder. No one now doubts that I got it from the terrible charges brought against me in the Manitesto of the New York Democratic Vigilant Association. For it turns out, though of course I have no distinct recollection of it, that I continued their years from intoxicating liquors, and even

regret my insanity. The following are among my reasons for this conclusion:— 1st. Dr. Gray assures me that but for the shocks which hastened my downfall, or but for others which might have occurred to that end, I should gradually have gone down under the pressure of my bodily diseases and mental labors into a hopeless type of

secept the claims of absolute authority, which are set up for it: insists that, instead of the final trial of the right of human nature by that authority, human nature is itself the final authority by which to try the Bible; and who says, in terms so plain as my return from the Asylum, to spend a night from my return from the Asylum, to spend a night from my return from the Asylum, to spend a night from home. It is true too, that there are even yet lingerings of my hallucinations. For instance, I have not wholly ceased to feel surprised when persons show me marked kindness or respect—so deep, during the worst stage of my insanity, was my sense of my utter unworthiness of such manifestations. What is unhappiest in my case is, that I have to avoid looklove in the life, makes up the whole of the essence unhappeer in my case is, that I have to avoid lookof the true religion. But you would add what I
cannot—that soundness on the points referred to is
essential to this love.

But not to mind now what is thought of my own

But not to mind now what is thought of my own

ever knew before, how to appreciate a well-con-ducted Lunatic Asylum, like that in Utica. Doc-tors Cleveland, Turtellot and Wright are worthy of

I think that this would be true of those who should their homes the newspapers ascribe to brain lever, would be corred, if their families could brave the law; and that it is true of those who do vote for men guilty of acknowledging the worse crime of slavery to be law. Were Jesus again on the earth, he would, instead of praising magistrates and legisted arm, or foolish enough to partake of the com-

should or should not put in the plea of Constitutional or other necessity. This one question in his Court is, not what is Constitutional, but what is right.

But to return to the object of my letter, and inform your readers of my health. I am not as blame worthy as many think me, for the prostration of my brain. They censure me for not having relaxed my brain. They censure me for not having relaxed my

that few are found willing to do, it is not always easy to resist the temptation to overdo.

For a dozen years before the last, I had at times suffered from dyspepsia—though by no means as severely as had many persons of my acquaintance. My suffering was mainly in the quick and strong sympathy of my head with my dyspeptic stomach. Vertigo and other most uncomfortable sensations—the date of the discontinuous and the dozen transport and the discontinuous and the dozen t under my roof; that John Brown was in Peterbor him, and were for days in consultation with him. But it was not this which made me feel that the wicked had put my life in great danger. I could to, put forth by thirty-one men in the city of New York, selected to do the deed, because their vast wealth, high social position, commanding influence, and indisputable title to be believed, would give to that Satanic deed the widest, fullest, surest effect it was then that I felt my insanity

the most merciful providence in my whole life. But, before further remarks on the manifesto, let me return for a moment to say, that John Brown was at my house but once in the year 1859, and then only for a day and a half. He was on his way from Kansas to his home. It was his custom to call on me in his journeys from the one to the other. At the time of his last visit, he was sick with the fever and ague, and so deaf as to make convers of heart, of which I had hitherto experienced with him quite difficult. He was accompanied by a nothing, was its incessant companion and chief signal. My head felt well and my brain worked easy. Dr. Gray, the Superintendent of the Asylum, head for the superintendent of the Asylum, head for the superintendent of the Asylum, head for the superintendent of the superintendent persons visited it except my wile's sister and her young children. Republicans may have concocted plans with John Brown. But they did it not under my roof, nor anywhere else with my knowledge. Republicans may have given him monies, and even

until within a very few days of my going to the Asylum, to look over the newspapers.

As soon as Dr. Gray learned my case, he decided that sleeplessness was the proximate cause of my insanity; and, therefore, that the one thing which I needed was sleep. He succeeded in getting me so much of it, that in a fortnight my wildness was gone, though in the first half of this fortnight I sank so low as not to know one of the persons around me, not even my friend and college-mate, E. A. Wetmore; so low indeed as to be apparently within a few hours of death. In another fortnight I required no attendant, and was removed into Dr. Gray's family. Three weeks more, and he brought forego, for conscience sake, both in the State PARLOR STOVES of superior designs, including the in the Church, all the offices, honors and PORTABLE HOT-AIR RADIATING PARLOR and in the Church, all the offices, honors and advantages which attend on party membership. Again, although knowing me to be a man of peace instead of war, of moral soasion instead of blood, nevertheless, as John Brown was known to be my beloved friend, to have obtained loans and gifts of beloved friend, to have obtained loans and gifts of money from me whenever applied for, to have bought his farm from me, and to have been the father and friend of one of the little communities on lands I had given to my colored brethren, so did the manifesto judge mine to be the expedient name for connecting with this plundering and killing association, and for sorving as the link to couple the Republican party with John Brown and his doings at Harper's Ferry.

Then see, at least so far as it speaks of my connection with this association, how naked as well

nection with this association, how naked as as mean a lie is this manifesto. When they who prepared it are arraigned for connecting my name with their fancy-built association, they in effect confess that they had not a shred nor a semblance of fact to justify their villany. Nay, more, conof fact to justify their villany. Nay, more, con-clusive testimony shall appear, at the proper time and in the proper place, to prove all these thirty-one 'merchant princes' admitted, when the mani-festo was published, that, in respect to myself, it was a 'calamity,' and that they all declared, (per-haps to soothe their guilty consciences, perhaps to quiet my friends, or perhaps both.) that 'they would see to it that no harm should come to Gerrit Smith.' It is true that they had set the dogs on me, but then they would interpose to save me from bains then they would interpose to save me from being torn to death. It is true that they did not wish to kill me, but then how could they resist the temptation to use my name for the greatly needed and highly meritorious purpose of killing Giddings, and Seward, and other prominent Republicans!

Finally, look at the atrocity of this manifesto lie.

The frency of party reditives has often divison men to

Finally, look at the atrocity of this manifesto he. The frenzy of party politics has often driven men to violate the principles of a sound morality. But when before was it ever known to involve a company of thirty-one men of high standing, in the enormous crime of falling upon their fellow-citizen, and, in the face of their own clear convictions of his imposence fastening charges upon him which his innocence, fastening charges upon him which they knew could not fail to serve mightily to blast his reputation, to expose him to the harassing and endangering action of the courts, to outlaw him and invite those whom these lying charges had filled with rage to assassinate him?

Perhaps there is one thing that is stranger, and

Perhaps there is one thing that is stranger, and even guiltier, than this enormous crime. It is that they who committed it are yet to show the first sign of repentance for it. But we must not fail to recollect that repentance is generally hastened by the fear of punishment, and that my thirty-one calumniators probably feel that they are not only too rich, but too numerous a band to be in great danger of punishment. I trust, however, that even in their case talso, the Scripture shall be verified, which declares, though hand joined in hand, the wicked shall not though hand joined in hand, the wicked shall not

I have referred to my numerous diseases. I do not forget that my frequent and great sufferings, involving even the loss of my reason, will be construed into poor encouragement to follow my example of strict temperance. But instead of my strict emperance being the cause of my diseases, to it do I owe it that I survive my diseases, and that I am now permitted to take this fresh start in life, and to

now permitted to take this fresh start in life, and to look younger than many who are older.

But I am ashamed of having written so much about myself; and I cannot but fear that my having done so will create the impression that my great affliction has contributed to the growth of my egotism, rather than my modesty. So I close my letter abruptly: not, however, without first saying that I have written it privately, and without the knowledge of any one, so great was my fear that my family might think it too much of an undertaking for one might think it too much of an undertaking for one who had come up so recently from the entire pros-tration of body and brain.

GERRIT SMITH Your friend,

From the Maine Temperance Journal. THADDEUS HYATT.

We wish to call the attention of our readers and the public, to the case of this gentleman. It will be recollected that he was thrust into prison in Washington, by the United States Senate, on a can citizen who stands charged with no crime known to our laws!

vote in favor of such a deed; and all such ought to be made to feel the honest indignation of their That the incarceration of Mr. Hyatt is an act

That the incarceration of Mr. Hyatt is an act of irresponsible and despotic power, every person whose mind is not warped by prejudice or interest cannot fail to see. And every man capable of understanding plain and simple English, and who will read the Constitution of the United States, must read the Constitution of the United States, must see that this act is a flagrant and wicked violation of that clause which provides that no man 'shall be compelled to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, LIBERTY, or property, without DUE PROCESS OF LAW.'—Art. 5, Amendments. On what 'due process of law' was Mr. Hyatt shut up in that vile and filthy den in Washington, unfit to be inhabited by swine? None whatever; for, in the first place, he was brought before a body which possesses no judicial power whatever. It is which possesses no judicial power whatever. It is a mere legislative, a law-making power; not a law-receuting body. This last is the sole province of the judiciary. In the next place, he is thus incar-cerated for an act not recognized by any law on our statute books as a crime. It was an act of uncertainty of the province of the judiciary. It was an act of uncertainty of the province of the prov make the cheek of every senator who voted for it burn with shauld and shameless despotism, which should the Claves, and fire the breast of every American eitzen with indignation. And especially should this be the case, when it is remembered, that being thrust into a vile dungeon without the forms of law, he must lie there until he rots, naless this same.

A. H. HOWLAND & CO

thrust into a vile dungeon without the forms of law, he must lie there until he rots, unless this same Senate is pleased, by the exercise of the same arbitrary and lawless power, to release him.

It seems to us, that every unsophisticated common sense man must see, that if such practices are to be admitted in our government, it may become one of the worst engines of despotism the world ever saw. No person who is man enough to attract the notice of the Senate and excite its hostility, or it may consider dangerous to its schemes, is safe. it may consider dangerous to its schemes, is safe from its iron and despotic grasp, unless he has power to resist its assaults on his liberty. If it wishes to crush any man in the nation or put him out of the way, it will only have to trump up some excuse to bring him before some of its committees, and then demand what he cannot concede withou and then defined that the calific the refuses to barter away his honor, just thrust him into a dungeon, and he is done for, so long as these men hold their

The truth is, this act involves all the principles on which the Inquisition was justified, and that distinguished the odious and detestable administration of Lord Chief Inglies. In the Inquisition of Lord Chief Inglies. his name infamous in the world's history, and it prevents hair from turning gray, and produces new in all diseases of the salp. She stands second to none in Hair-Dyeing and Champooing.

Ladies waited on at their residences, either in or out of town.

Boston, May 1, 1860.

CHARLES HAZELTINE tion of Lord Chief Justice Jeffries and has made sensibility to the encroachments of tyranny as our fathers would have been ashamed of.

REPAIRER.

AND

REPAIRER.

REPAIRER.

REPAIRER.

REPAIRER.

REPAIRER.

Washington jail, and also the room in which he temporarily resides. The latter picture, prepared under Mr. Hyatt's supervision, bears the inscription, 'Room in which Thaddeus Hyatt is incarcerated, in the American Bastile,' &c., &c.

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It is, to us, a matter of the most profound astonishment that the people of these United States are ishment that the people of these United States are instructed by this most despicable exercise of irresponsible and despote power. And we are not less atonished that any Republican Senator could be found who could find it either in his head or his heart to cast a rot in favor of such a deed; and all such ought to and all each ought to and all each ought to the country. says 'Water Cure' Physician in the country. To boarders, or parties visiting New York, this House offers superior inducements, as the location is very desirable, being only fifteen minutes' walk from the Astor House. Accommodations and table, excellent, and at one half the price charged at the Hotels.

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Is there any virtue in MRS. S. A. ALLEN'S

HAIR RESTORER READ THE FOLLOWING, AND JUDGE FOR

YOURSELF. To the Ed's of Evangelist: - My age ; To the Ed's of Evengeller:—My age is one year ago, my hair was very gray, and igradually falling, until, on the crown, it had quite thin. About the lat of March, of the year, I commenced using Mrs. S. A. Allen's er.' No. 1, according to the directions, and errivation of the same three or four weeks, on retiring to bed. My now almost restored to its original color, and appears to be permanent. I All No. appears to be permanent. I AM SATISFIED
THE PREPARATION IS NOTHING
DYE, BUT OPERATES UPON THE STIONS. My hair crosses to fell.

TIONS. My hair ceases to fall, which is certain advantage to one who was in danger of break Rev. M. THACHER. antage to one who was in danger of d.' Rev. M. THAC Bridgewater, Oneida Co., N. Y., Nov. President J. I., EATON, LL. D., Union Union

HO

'resident d. In. Murfreesboro', Tennessee,
Murfreesboro', Tennessee,
'MADAM—I would state, that some time last pring
'MADAM—I would state, that some time last pring MADAM—I would state, that some time last sping I found MY HAIR PALLING OFF. I concluded to purchase a bottle of 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Restarct, &c., and give it a trial. I commenced using it, but very irregularly; but notwithstanding the irregularity; found that its influence was distinctly visible, the falling off of hair clark, which before were quite oran, were cancer before were quite oran, were cancer trial, but, from what I have seen of its effect own case, I have reason to believe that it is capable of accomplishing what it purports to do, via, resumn the hair from falling off, and to restore the case of the first or the grant of the first or the case of the GRAY LOCKS TO THEIR ORIGINAL COLOR.

Mrs. D. W. CLARK, wife of Rev. D. W. CLARK, Editor 'Ladies' Repository, Cincipasi of Rev. Editor 'Ladies' Repository, Cincinati, Olia. N. Ulakk,
'I have been using Mrs. S. A. Allen's Zylobalsamum with much satisfaction in dressing myoun and
children's hair. After trying various articles manfactured for the hair, I feel no hesitation in recommending yours as the best I have ever used. It gives
the hair a soft, glossy appearance, and retains it in
any position desired.'

Rev. JOHN E. ROBIE, Editor Christian Adm. cate, Buffalo, N. Y. 'Your Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum is the best I have ever known. It has restored my hair to its natural color,' &c.

Rev. E. R. FAIRCHILD, D. D., Cor. Sec. American and Foreign Christian Union, N. Y. City.

Mrs. S. A. Allen's Hair Restorer and Zylobsha. mum have been used in my family with beneficial effects; and I take pleaure in recommending them to such as have occasion to use such preparations." Rev. A. WEBSTER, Editor ' Christian Era,' Baston

Mass.

'Having used numerous specifies to little purpose, I discarded all, believing them to be of no value. So I regarded your World's Hair Restorer and Zylebil-samum, yet personal friends prevailed on me to use it. I have done so for several months past with good effect and entire satisfaction. I am now sailer beld nor gray; my hair was dry and brittle, but has regained the softness of my earlier years.'

Rev. H. V. DEGEN, Ed. 'Guide to Holiness,' Boston 'Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer, found among our other advertisements, we insert from ac-ual experiment. That it promotes the growth of the hair where baldness had commenced, we have now the evidence of our own eyes. We can testify to its good effects."

Rev. S. B. MORLEY, Pastor Congregational Church

Attleboro', Mass.
I have used Mrs. S. A. Allen's Word's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum. The effect of the Hair Ra-storer has been to change the 'crown of glory' which belongs to old men to the original hue of youth. This was done by a single bottle used according to direc-tions. Others of my acquaintance have used it with the same effect. The Zylobalsamum I regard as an invaluable dressing for the hair. invaluable dressing for the hair.'

Rev. DANIEL T. WOOD, Middletown, Orange Co.,

. My hair has greatly thickened upon my head, and but on a very lively, healthy appearance. The same is true of my daughter; HER HAIR HAD BECOME THIN, AND CAME OUT CONSTANT.
LY, UNTIL WE THOUGHT THE READ WOULD BE ALMOST BARE; HER HAIR HAS HANDSOMELY THICKENED UP, AND ALSO HAS A HEALTHY APPEARANCE. We are thankful to you, and feel that we have full value of our money."

GREAT BRITAIN.

Rev. W. B. THORNELOE, Prescot, Lancashire, 'Your Hair Restorer is a perfect marvel. After having used it for six weeks, my extremely gray him was restored to its natural color,—not the wig-like appearance produced by dyes, but to its own natural color, which satisfies my mind that it is not a dye. I can strongly recommend it, and shall feel happy is I can strongly recommend it, and shall for

answering the queries of any you may refer to me [The above clergyman is well known throughout Great ain, and to many in the United States.] HAYTI.

Rev. Mrs. E. S. ANDRUS, (many years Missionery to Hayti,) Martinsburgh, A In consequence of her long residence in sforesmed land, her hair and scalp were in a very unhealthy condition. After trying various articles without success, and eventually using Mrs. S. A. Allen's, she writes to the 'American Baptist,'—'I have derived much benefit from the use of Mrs. S. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsanum; I have tried many other remedies for my hair, but never any thing that so materially and permanently benefited me as those of Mrs. S. A. Allen's

Rev. J. WEST, 6 Washington Place, (Pacific street,)

Brooklyn.

I am happy to bear testimony to the value and efficacy of this preparation of Mrs. Allen's in the most literal sense, and also thankfully acknowledge the use of it in curing my baldness and grayness. Rev. R. H. POLLOCK, Ed. Presbyterien Wil-

'It is our settled policy to advertise nothing till ev and being satisfied of the merits of Mr. S. A. Al-len's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsamum, I would be pleased to insert adversisement, '&c.

Rev. J. A. H. CORNELL, Corres. Sec. Board of Elweation R. D. Church, 337 Broadesty, N. Y., ast
New Baltimore, Greene county, N. Y.

'Some time since, I procured a bottle of year
World's Hair Restorer, &c., for the use of a relative,
and I am happy to say, that it prevented the falling and I am happy to say, that it prevented the fairs of the hair, and restored it from being gray to it original glossy and beautiful black.

Rev. JAS. McFARLANE, Pastor Prot. Dutch Chard Esopus, Utster county, N. Y.

I have no hesitation in certifying that Mr. 8. A.
Allen's World's Hair Restorer and Zylobalsama
have produced all the effects described in her servtisement, in restoring the color and increasing the
growth of the hair; and I would cheerfully recommend it to those whose hair may either begin to fail
in color or decrease in luxuriance.

Rev. B. C. SMITH, Prattsburg, N. Y. 'I was really surprised to find my gray har sold turned as black as when I was a young man.

Rev. M. C. KLING, Lewistown, Pennsylvenia "It has stopped the falling off of my hair, and especia new growth, although I did not attend to it as your directions require. Rev. AMOS BLANCHARD, Meriden, N. H.

We think very highly of your preparations, so have no doubt, if you had an agent in this rigisty a large quantity might be disposed of.

We think that if these fail to convince less than a trial will. Some few dealers try to all trick on which they make mars profit than on then; sleet

These are the only preparations experted is us INSIST on having these.

quantity to Europe.

We aspire to have the best, not the lowest price.

One bottle of the Restorer will last a year; \$1.50
a bottle. Baisam, 374 cents per bottle. Address all letters for information, &c., to 'lin's. A. Allen's World's Hair Restorer Depot, No. 355.

Broome Street, New York.' The Gensias has 'Me.
S. A. Allen,' signed in Red Ink to outside ways and in Black Ink to directions pasted on bettles—miss other is genuine. Signing the name by other is offence, and will be prosecuted by us as a cris its offence.

SOLD BY EVERY DRUG AND FANCY GOOD DISALES Oct 14. 1yeep

Advo-

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All this will be found in the 13th volume of the Conressional Debutes, with the evidence in detail, and the
discussion thereupon.

Here is another instance of similar character, which did
not occur in a Committe-room, but during debate in the
Senate Chamber. While the Compromise measures were
under discussion in 1850, on the 17th of April, 1850, Mr.
Foote, a Slave-master from Missisteppi, in the course of
his remarks, commenced a personal allusion to Mr. Benton. This was aggravated by the circumstance that only
a few days previously he had made this distinguished,
gentleman the mark for most bitter and vidulcitive personalities. Mr. Benton rose most bitter and vidulcitive personalities. Mr. Benton rose but without weapons of any
with in his hand, or, as it appeared afterward before the
Committee, on his person, advanced in the direction of
Mr. Foote, when the latter, gilding backwards, drew from
his pocket a five-chambered revolver, full loaded, which
he cocked. Meanwhile Mr. Benton, at the suggestion of
friends, was aiready returning to his seat, when he perceived the pistol. Excited greatly by this deadly menace,
he exclaimed, "I am not armed. I have no pistols. I
dissain to carry arms. Stand out of the way, and let the
assassin fire." Mr. Foote remained standing in the position he had taken, with his pistol in his hand, cocked.
"Soon after," says the report of the Committee appointed
their seats, and order was restored."

At this will be found at length in the 21st volume of

masters in Congress. Our rank how enter upon any estations. I content myself with showing the openness with which in debate it has been menaced, and without Mr. Foote, the same slave-master, already mentioned in debate in the Sunate, 26th of March, 1860, thus sought to provoke Mr. Benton. I take his words from the Congressional Globe, vol. 21, p. 603;

resistance, as he understood the Senator from New York does, "proceeded most earnestly to repel an imagined imputation on him by Mr. Seward, and wound up by saying: "If it came from another quarter, it seeded not be separe this floor that I should unnever it."

And then, during the present session, the Senator from Mississpip, (Mr. Delianer,) has maintained the Duel as a mode of settling personal inferences and vindicating what is called personal honor; as if personal honor did not depend absolutely upon what a man does, and, not what is called personal honor; as if personal honor did not depend absolutely upon what a man does, and, not what is done to him. "A gentleman," say the Senator, "has the right to give an insult, if he feels kinner bound to consume for feel," and in reply to the Senator from Vermont, he declared, that in case of insul, taking another out and shooting him might be "eathistation."

I do not dwell on this instance, nor on any of these instances, except to make a single comment. These declarations have all been made in open Senate, without these instances, except to make a single comment. These declarations have all been made in open Senate, without the dead directly to provoke from the Chair. Of course, they may be the from the Chair. Of course, they may be a substance of the law of the land. All duels are prohibited by solemn are to Congress. (See Statutes at Large, vol. 6, page 318, February, 20, 1889.). In case of dead, the surviving parties are declared guilty of selony, to be punished by hard labor in the penitentiary; and declared guilty of selony when the openitentiary. Of course, they may be seen this law at defance. And yet the Senators, who thus openly directly to be punished by hard labor in the penitentiary; and deneated the save two sets this law at defance. And yet the Senators, who thus openly directly the senators, seem set this law at defance. And yet the Senators, who thus openly directly to the moral sense. Let Senators who are so clamerous for "the save yeuestion in Co

cause of many control of the control

Nor were the slave-masters contented with the v lindignity of every kind, and even as here South Carolina naturally tool

an:
The Charleston Mercury, which always speaks the true
pice of slavery, said in 1837: "Public opinion in the South would now, we are sur-tify an immediate resort to force by the Southern de ation, even on the floor of Congress, were they fort th to seize and drag from the Hall any man who down

e horrors, ancient stories of Barbarisz and the "riper-broth," which was in a barbarous age, seems to have be ak of American slave-masters. Bu

tered with impunity.

Here is an instance. In 1848 Mr. Hale, the Senator from New Hampshire, who still continues an honor to his body, introduced into the Senate a full for the procetion of property in the District of Columbia, specially gainst mob-violence. In the course of the debate that nsucd, Mr. Foote; a slave-master from Mississippi, thus hemaced him:

memaced him:

"I invite the Senator to the State of Mississippi, and will tell him beforehand, in all honesty, that he could not go ten miles into the interior before he would grace one of the tallest trees of the forest with a rope around his neek, with the approbation of every virtuous and patricularly and that, if necessary, I should myself assist in the operation."

That this bloody threat may not seem to stand alone, I add two others.

Mr. Hammond of South Carolina, now a Senator, is reported as saying in the House of Representatives:

"I warn the abolitionists, ignorant, infatuated barbarians as they are, that if chance shall throw any of them into our hands, they may expect a felon's death! And in 1841, Mr. Pay pe, a slave-master from Alabama,

By Mr. Barksdale, of Mississippi: "Order that black-hearted scoundrel and nigger-steal ing thief to take his seat," By Mr. Boyce of South Carolina, addressing Mr. Love-

"Then behave yourself."
By Mr. Gartrell, of Geordia, (in his seat):
"The man is crazy."
By Mr. Darksdale, of Mississippi, again:

"No, sir, you stand there to-day an infamous, perjured By Mr. Ashmore, of South Carolina "Yes; he is a perjured villain, and he perjures himself every hour he occupies a seat on this floor."

By Mr. Singleton, of Miselssippi:

"And if you come among us, we will do with you as we'dd with John Brown-hang you as high as Haman. I say that as a Virginian."

But enough—enough; and I now turn from this branch of the argument with a single remark. While exhibiting the character of slave-masters, these numerous instances—and they might be multiplied indefinitely—attest the weakness of their cause. It requires no special talent to estimate the insignificance of an argument that can be supported only by violence. The scholar will not forget the story told by Lucian of the colloquy between Jupiter and a simple countryman. They talked with ease and freedom until they differed, when the angry god at once menaced his honest opponent with a thunder-bolt. "Ah. ah!" said the clown, with perfect composure, "now, Jupiter, I know you are wrong. You are always wrong when you appeal to your thunder." And permit me to say, that every appeal, whether to the duel, the bludgeon, or the revolver—every menace of personal violence, and every outrage of language, besides disclosing a hideous barbarium, also discloses the fevered nervousness of a cause already humbled in debate.

(4.) Much as has been said to exhibit the character of slave-masters, the work would be incomplete if falled to point out that purconsciousness of the fatal influence of under which they live. Nor am I at liberty to seems this topic; but I shall be brief.

That Senators should openly declare slavery "ennobling," at least to the master, and also "the black marble key-stone of our national arch," would excite wonder if it were not explained by the examples of history. There are men who, in the spirit of paradox, make themselves the partisans of a bad cause, as Jerome Cardan wrote an Encomium on Nero. But where there is no disposition to paradox, it is natural that a cheriahed practice should blind those who are under its influence; nor is there any end to these exagerations. According to Thurcyddes, piracy in the early ages of Greece was alike widespread and honorable; so much so, that Telem

Mr. President, it is time to close this branch of the argument. The barbarism of siavery has been now exposed, first, in the law of elavery, with its five pretensions, bunded on the assertion of property in man, the denisal of the conjugat relation, the infraction of the parental selation, the exclusion from knowledge, and the robbery of the fruits of snother's labor, all these having the single beliest of compelling min to new brightness while its

born in a land of slaves. No one can understand tterble meanness of the slave system on the minds who, but for the strange obliquity which prevents ecting the degradation of not being gentlemen

ing men to work without weges, naivemily proposes the committee. The process of the committee of the process of the constitution, by introducing link is the backward the Constitution, by introducing link is the backward the Constitution, by the committee of the process of the constitution, by the committee of the constitution, by the constitution, by the constitution, by the constitution, by the constitution, and the constitution of property in man; and, secondly, the protession in the constitution of property in man; and, secondly, the protession in the constitution of property in man; and, secondly, the protession in the constitution of the first of these protessions. I make the constitution of the constitution of

and charities, all delights of life, emboused in the cause. Yee may reject it; but it will be only for to-day.

The two assumptions of Slave-masters have been answered. But this is not enough. Let the answer become a legislative act, by the admission of Kansas as a Free State. Then will the Barbarism of Slavery be repelled, and the pretension of property in man be rebuked. Such as set, closing this long struggle by the assurance of peace to the Ferritory, if not of tranquility to the whole country, will be more grateful when breedom shall be installed everywher the National Soverment; when the National Flag, wherever it floats, on sea or land, within the national jurisdiction, will obtain the converted and the state of the National Governent is stage laws; and when the Declaration of Independence, now revited in the name of slavery, will once again be reverenced as the American Magna Charta of Human Rights. Nor is this all. Such an act will be the first stage in those triumphs by which the Republic—lifted in character so as to become an example to mankind—will enter at last upon the life. The calling the new between Freedom and Slavery can end only with the triumph of Freedom. This same Question will be soon carried before that high tribunal, supreme over Scante and Court, where the judges will be counted by millions, and where the judgement rendered will be the solemn charge of an aroused people, instructing a new President, in the name of Freedom, to see that Civilization receives no detriment.

Mr. Chesnut's Heply.

Mr. Chesnut's Reply.

By Telegraph. Mr. Chesnut made a brief response to Mr. Sumer's speech, speaking of it as an extraordinary one. After ranging over Europe, sneaking through the back doors of English aristocracy, and fawn-ing at their feet, this slanderer of States and men

has reappeared in the Senate. He had hoped, after the punishment he had reeived for his insolence that he would have learnd propriety, but he had repeated his former vul-arity and mendacity. The Egyptians deified garity and mendacity. entiles but it remained for northern abolitionists yelping out volumes of slander, and he would therefore endeavor to keep quiet. Mr. Sumner said he had pointed out the barba

rism of slavery, and the Senator's rejoinder shoulgo as an appendix and fitting illustration of hi argument. Adjourned.

ing Bill—Speech of Hon. Chas. F. Adams—How the South took it—Sumner to Speak. Letter from Washington. Hon. R. E. Fenton and the Old Soldiers

South took Resolution our occasional Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, May 31, 1860. Congress drags its slow length along to its close. The House is hard at work, though the sual amount of President-making speeches are thrown in each day to spice the proceedings. Yesterday a very important bill passed the House after a severe struggle. Hon. R. E. Fenton of New York called up his Invalid Pensioner bill, which places those now entitled to pensions under existing general laws on the pension rolls from the date of their disability instead of from the completion of their proofs as now practiced at

the Pension Department. Mr. Fenton has long since come to be regarded as the old Soldier's friend, and the able and gallant manner in which he engineered this most just and equitable measure through the House entitles him to great credit as an experienced and skilful legislator, and to the gratitude and thanks of that much neglected and long defrauded class of our fellow citizens, who fought the battles of the Ropublic, and wasted their means and impaired their health for our benefit and happiness. The bill was attacked by Mr. Branch of North Caroline with his nearly newer and shillir, but the Carolina with his usual power and ability, but the readiness and ease with which Col. Fenton met his objections and sustained the bill showed that he was master of his subject, and perfectly prepared to defend every section. After an ineffectual attempt to lay it on the table, it passed by a vote of 98 to 80.

one or both of these respects, it is evident that a large part of the shipping now engaged in the business must be withdrawn from it.

As a natural consequence of poor voyages, other branches of business are somewhat de-

there is some activity. Our wealthy and enterprising citizen, Dr. Daniel Fisher, has now in process of erection a large Flour Mill, in the adjoining town of Tisbury. Quite a number of our townsmen have engaged in the smaller Fishers with some success.

The authorities of our little county have recently had completed, in excellent style and taste, the Superior Court Room, in our new County Building, erected within some two or three years past. The first Court in it was held by Judge Wilkinson, on Tuesday last. The docket was very light, as is usually the case with us here, there being not a single case given to the jury. The Grand Jury found no indictments. But it was, nevertheless, a marked ocasion, it being one on which the inhabitants of the county, no less than the Honorable Court, with its officers and gentlemen of the Bar, found themselves so agreeably provided for with a new and spacious room, in which to transact whatever business might be at hand. Before the adjournment of the Court, the Hon. George Marston, District Attorney for the Southern District of the State, introduced a complimentary resolution with respect to the new building and court room, which he desired might be accepted by the Court, and ordered to be placed upon the Record.

A delegation of two gentlemen of our place have had a hearing before the Commissioners, with reference to the locating of a Nautical School for boys at this post. We know not yet what the decision may be, although we hear that two of the three Commissioners are in favor of this place. If not already determined, the question will be of course. The doings of the Chicago Convention are highly approved here. Silex.

place. If not already determined, the quester will be of course. The doings of the Chicag Convention are highly approved here. Silex.

Lincoln Club in Natick.

From our own Reporter. NATICK, June 2, 1860. Republicans of this town assembled last evening to take the initiatory steps for the formation of a Lincoln Club, and a vigorous prosecution of the

Lincoln Club, and a vigorous prosecution of the campaign. Hon. J. W. Bacon presided, and J. B. Fairbanks was chosen Secretary. A committee of eleven were chosen to report, to an adjourned meeting, a plan of organization and a list of officers.

A disposition was shown by two or three persons to keep the party "conveniently small," by excluding from participation in the organization of the Club, men who have acted in the past with other parties, in opposition to the Republican, and men who have fraternized to some extent with the Garrisonians. Their narrow views, however, met with no sympathy from the meeting.

GENS TAKEN FROM THE BELL-METAL. There

were some "gems," though not of the first water, in the speeches of the orators at the bell-ringers' entertainment last night. "Frinstans," as Yelowplush remarks, Devereux said:

lowplush remarks, Devereux said:

"To the thunderstruck expectancy of the nation, the
Republican Convention proposed the names of Abraham
Lincoln and Hannibal Hamin. Twenty years ago I met
Mr. Hamin in the State of Maine in political contests,
and i should as soon have thought that the Mississippi
might in course of time empty itself into the Ladian
Ocean as that he should turn up where he now stands."
That only shows that Devereux is not a good
judge of character, and that is one great trouble
write, all the members of that nacts. "Thus. with all the members of that party. "Thun derstruck expectancy," however, is good! And Mr. Saltonstall cried out excitedly:

"The blood of Patrick Henry is crying from the ground." We never knew before that Patrick Henry ever lost any portion of his vital fluid on the ground or elsewhere. Sationstall had better read Henry's life. And Mr. Henry asked, fervently:

"Suppose, gentlemen, we were in dissolution. Why, gentlemen, do you know that all the cotton you manufacture at the North comes from the South?" Why, of course they do n't know it! How could

such a crowd as that be expected to know anything about cotton? COL. TRAIN AND MR. HOUSTON. The chip is again on the hat of some of the southern mem-bers of Congress. Col. Train had the misfortune to assert that "he should consider himself guilty of gross impropriety as a member and a gentlethe floor." He did not say that Mr. Houston or anybody else would be guilty of such impropriety, but that "he should consider himself guilty," &c. The Printing bill then came up in its regular order and consumed the rest of the day and most of to-day. During the discussion a nice family quarrel sprang up among the Democrats, the debate being results are sold in the distance, and affair of honor loomed up in the distance, and increased next worth has a residual remarks a goographical divisions came out in black lines, and affair of honor loomed up in the distance, and increased next worth have a caldidate.

and produced of the first of the control of the con

FOUR DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

THE NEAPOLITAN ARMY ROUTED.

GARIBALDI VICTORIOUS ST. JOHN'S, N. F., June 2. The steam of Baltimore, from Liverpool 23d, via Queen 24th ult., passed Cape Race yesterday noo was intercepted by the Associated Press yacht. The City of Baltimore has 600 st and 60 cabin passengers for Now York. Great Britain.

It was vaguely reported that France and Russia had signed a treaty on the 19th, on the Eastern Bussin.

It was reported that the Russian troops in the outhern provinces had been placed on a war

China. A private dispatch from China says that the hinese government absolutely refuses the ulti-atum of England and France, and that war is

ARRIVAL OF THE VANDERBILT. New York, June 3. The steamship Vanderbilt, from Southampton 23d, has arrived, bring ing London and Liverpool advices of the same day, and upwards of 200 passengers. She reports severe wintry weather throughout the passage ampassed several icobergs.

A dispatch to Southampton reports that Normandy won the Derby race, Ten Broeck's Umpire being the eleventh.

The Neapolitans had abandoned the province of Palermo and Trapani. Great disorder prevailed, and the provinces were in full insurrection. Six thousand Sicillians had joined Garribaldi's force. The Neapolitan army was routed on the 15th

The Neapolitan army was routed on the 13th by the troops under Garibaldi.

A conflict also took place on the 19th between the Pontifical gendarmes and a party of Garibaldians, near Monteflascom, in the Roman territory. The latter were driven back to Tuscany with a loss of 30 killed and wounded.

The departure of a French naval force to the Adriatic was reported. Adriatic was reported.

It was rumored that England, Austria a Prussia had agreed to maintain the integrity the Ottoman Empire.

The concentration of Russian troops on the Druth is desired.

dinia.

ROME, 23d. The Customs' Guard at Onanchave been attacked and overpowered by some fill busters, who, after plundering the treasury, retreated to Tuscany. The pensantry are asking fo arms. The Papal troops will immediately leaven the control of the frontiers. The Journal of Rome says the news from Sicily is favorable to the Nearly Control of the Control of the Control of the Nearly Control of the Control of the Nearly Control of t politan government. An artillery force left Rom-to-day for the frontiers. The Pontifical Chasseur sent after the fillbusters, owing to the darkness o the night, fired upon each other, killing the Cap

Great Britain.

In the House of Commons, on the 21st, L.

John Russell, in reply to a question, said th

was no intention on the part of the Austrian

Spanish governments of interfering in affairs

Sicily.

Prance.

Paris, Saturday. The Patrie, in speaking of the affair of Calata Fimi, says: "The volunteers having been attacked with great vigor, energetically defended themselves and effected their retreat in good order, leaving behind certain of their number killed. According to last accounts the insurrection was being extended and organized in all directions." The same journal adds, that when the detachments which are being organized shall have joined the volunteers who disembarked at Marsala, the whole will number 12,000 men, well armed and well provisioned. The Paris correspondent of the Times says it is not true that the Prussian Ambassador at Turin had protested against the expedition of Garibaldi. He merely asked explanations from the Sardinian government.

increased next month by an addition of 100,000 men.

Parts, Monday. The Patrie contains a dispatch announcing that Colonel Pirnadau had obtained a decided success against the volunteers who had entered the Roman Territory. The brother of Orgini is said to have been killed.

Marseilles, 21. Advices from Rome state that Gen. Lamoriciere entered that city on the 13th On the following day he dispatched the second regiment of infantry and detachments of mounted gensdarmes from the city. The cause of this movement was the march of the Garibaldians on Orbitella, news of which caused great agitation at Rome. It was said that the march of the French troops had been decided on, but the belief was that it would be postponed.

The Paris correspondent of the Times says: A perfect panic prevailed last week in the commercial and financial world. The pretence for the panic was founded on reports that the Russian government is about to recommence a Menschikof mission, and the landing of Garibaldi in Sicily. The fact is, that the panic was caused by the obscurity in which all political questions are enveloped.

Naples, 18th. The band of Garibaldi has been

Palermo, 16th. Garibaldi was at Alcamo on the 15th.

A fight had taken place at Liappo, in which the royal troops were repulsed.
Palermo is again in a state of siege.
The French troops have arrived.
More emigrants have disembarked in Sicily.
Genoa, 18th. Marshal Russo, who, being unable to diminish the garrison of Messina, refused the demand.
Turin, 19th. Advices from Naples state that the 6th regiment refused to fire on the people on the occasion of the demonstration on the 13th.
The government intends to appoint Count Trani Viceroy to Sicily, and grant a general amnesty, when the insurrection is suppressed.
Naples, 20th. Bands of insurgents are marching on Palermo.
The proclamation of Gen. Lanzos, concerning an amnesty and the Vicerovalty has had no effect, and popular manifestations take place repeatedly. It is believed that Palermo will shortly be evacuated by the royal troops.
Palermo, 18th. Garibaldi's troops are catternocked in a semi-circle around Palermo. The Neapolitan troops and functionaries are discouraged.

China.
Hong Kong dates of March 29 state that Mr. Bruce is to receive a final answer from the Em-

he wedding-day. But it by

WORK AT THE TROY & GREENFIELD RAILBOAD. The work at the Hoosac Tun rel is progressing. A working model of one of the new
drilling machines of Mr. Haupt is now at Gree.
field, and excites great curiosity and conforme.
It is pronounced a perfect thing. The cases as a
trance of the tunnel has been bouried up for some
time. The calculation is, to make a deep cut about
400 feet fartler, when the solid mountain will be
reached. Over 100 feet has been excavated at the
shaft, and it is found to be cheaper drawing upths
broken rock in Duckets, by home

ton, late Assistant Socretary of State, as Minister to Russia, has been confirmed by the Senate. It will be a nice trip for him out and back, Mr. Trescott is also confirmed Assistant Secretary vice Appleton resigned.

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